MOVEMENT – 1976 – FORWARD (1976)

Correspondence, Journals & Documents – Socialist League / Forward Group

**Archival Items – 'On File' –copies available at National Archives, Ottawa*

1976

1976-01Jan14A	Letter from Ritch, Pres. CYSF York U. to – All Faculty
1976-01Jan14B	Forward Forums -- Great struggles in Canadian history
1976-02Feb00	VOTE United Left Slate, York U. newsletter
1976-02Feb00	One year of ULS – Social affairs, Academic affairs
1976-02Feb00	Best CYSF ever – activist leadershp, What is the ULS?
1976-02Feb00	ULS candidates; Silzer for President
1976-02Feb00	Student unity a must (by Kellogg & Ritch)
1976-02Feb00	Tuition increases; York power structure
1976-02Feb00	Cutbacks threaten education; Discrimination on campus
1976-02Feb00	Food referendum ignored
1976-02Feb00	One year after women's report, still nothing has changed
1976-02Feb00	Faculty and staff organize; Food referendum ignored
1976-02Feb4	Forward Forum Notice – « The Post-War Strike Wave »
1976-02Feb4	(transcription) Speech notes by Ross D. on Strike Wave
1976-02Feb11	Forward Forums--The PQ; Where is Canada going?
1976-02Feb25	United Left Slate Convention on York U. campus elections
1976-02Feb-fwd-15	Drop charges – Morgentaler—Labor fights controls
*1976-Feb-fwd-15	Why BC NDP lost – Vancouver Democrat discussion

*1976-Feb-fwd-15 Cross-country with the NDP-- Socreds cut NDP gains

*1976-Feb-fwd-15 Oh Canada- Canadian construction unions for autonomy

*1976-Feb-fwd-15 There are always $$$ for war – Ross Dowson

*1976-Feb-fwd-15 Union fights US bid – (puts pressure on FIRA)

1976-02Feb-fwd-15 Student rally fights cutbacks, fee hikes

1976-03Mar9 Forward Forum: International unions & the Canadian Left

1976-03Mar-fwd-16 Program for labor–*Labor defies wage freeze)*

1976-03Mar-fwd-16 Build NDP left – CLC's Morris hits Schreyer betrayal

1976-03Mar-fwd-16 Left caucus vital to NDP from formative days of party

1976-03Mar-fwd-16 Left Caucus vital to NDP (series 1/4)

1976-03Mar-fwd-16 Women unionists plan action conferences

1976-03Mar-fwd-16 Morgentaler actions set stage for repeal

*1976-Mar-fwd-16 Port Hope shows need to shelve nuclear projects (file)

*1976-Mar-fwd-16 Labor control endangered (at union-run textile mill) (file)

1976-03Mar-fwd-16 Natives counter pillage North (Innuit fight back)

*1976-Mar-fwd-16 Oh Canada-Demands for enquiry into US cinema giants

*1976-Mar-fwd-16 Trudeau Digest-ed by US corporate power

1976-03Mar-fwd-16 Union autonomy struggle broadens

1976-03Mar Angolese victory finds Canadian left confounded

1976-04Apr9 Forward Forums—April series-Spain,Maoism-May Day

1976-04Apr26 *Forward* Fund drive letter for $5500 goal

1976-04Apr30 Forward Forums: May Day Social

1976-04Apr-fwd-17 Canadian sovereignty at stake in potash nationalization

1976-04Apr-fwd-17 Broadbent off mark on Judges Scandal – Open Letter

1976-04Apr-fwd-17 Waffle and the fight for a socialist NDP

1976-04Apr-fwd-17 Waffle & fight for socialist NDP (Series 2/4)

1976-04Apr-fwd-17 US-first hiring blocked, but Canadian studies neglected

1976-04Apr-fwd-17 York campus vote – Behind the defeat

*1976-Apr-fwd-17 Parti Québécois daily spurs debate (on nationalism) (file)

*1976-Apr-fwd-17 Israel Arab strike jars Israel myth – Non-Zionists grow (file)

*1976-Apr-fwd-17 First Trotskyist French daily (Rouge)

*1976-Apr-fwd-17 Deepening crisis of British left – by Ross Dowson

1976-04Apr-fwd-17 Labor women meet – CLC recognizes new need

1976-04Apr-fwd-17 Anti-sexual policies shake RCgrip–Catholic women rebel

1976-04Apr-fwd-17 Forward forums – Forward sets goal – $5500

1976-05May-fwd-18 Labor girds to defeat the wage freeze**—**

*1976-May-fwd-18 Defend CLC democracy! (Ross Dowson)

1976-05May-fwd-18 Unions support abortion repeal

1976-05May-fwd-18 What perspectives for working women?

1976-05May-fwd-18 Cross-country with the NDP – Gov't expels Douglas

1976-05May-fwd-18 Real issues behind Waffle expulsion (Kirzner) (NDP 3/4)

1976-05May-fwd-18 Quebec labor and the PQ – Contribution to the debate

1976-05May-fwd-18 NDP, Québécois, labor hold May Day celebrations

*1976-May-fwd-18 Profit makes haste on nuclear waste, by H. Kopyto (on file)

1976-05May-fwd-18 Forward Forums – Forward fund drive – Books

1976-06June00 Letter to *Canadian Dimension* on ‘’The National Question’’

1976-06June8 Socialist League Picnic; Sunday at Wilkett Creek Park

1976-06June99a Pamphlet: Repression in Poland, Defend right to strike

1976-06Jun-fwd-19 BC left emerges at NDP convention—Controller strike

1976-06Jun-fwd-19 NDP poses ongoing focus for left politics

1976-06Jun-fwd-19 NDP poses focus for left politics (NDP4/4)

1976-06Jun-fwd-19 Election deflected debate in NDP convention

1976-06Jun-fwd-19 CLC convention forges unions into political movement

1976-06Jun-fwd-19 CLC rally acclaims struggle of women

*1976-Jun-fwd-19 Schreyer-Why he supportws the wage freeze (RD)

*1976-Jun-fwd-19 Oh Canada-Canadian filmmakers for production quota

*1976-Jun-fwd-19 In celebration of the American Revolution 1776

1976-06Jun-fwd-19 Native culture affirmed as communal socialist tradition

1976-06Jun-fwd-19 Weekly talks at Forward Forums discuss key ideas

1976-08Aug-fwd-20 Trudeau retreats before campaign against French

1976-08Aug-fwd-20 Asylum in Canada-- refuge for whom?

1976-08Aug-fwd-2 Cross-country with the NDP – City Council dissolution

*1976-Aug-fwd-20 CCL Manifesto in perspective (RD)

*1976-Aug-fwd-20 Behind the facade of the Olympics (protests in Montreal) (file)

1976-08Aug-fwd-20 Solidarity with the Polish workers!

1976-08Aug-fwd-20 Is (Canadian) nationalism reactionary (Forward Forums)

1976-08Aug-fwd-20 Editorial—Santucho murdered (Argentinian ERP)

*1976-Aug-fwd-20 Oh Canada—Notes on Canadian nationalism

1976-09Sept2 SL letter to The National Gay Rights Coalition

*1976-09Sept8a	“Contribution on question of leadership in the SL” by J.M.
1976-09Sept10	Forward Forums: Police; Trade Unions; Limits on growth?
*1976-09Sept13	(Missing)-Statement on Executive Proposal re: Organiser (G.D.)
1976-09Sept17a	United Left Coalition (York U.) Agenda members meeting
1976-09Sept28	SL letter re: mass distribution of special issue underway
1976-09Sep-fwd-21	For a united mass Oct. 14 Day of Protest
1976-09Sep-fwd-21	Protesting injustice brings charges of illegality
*1976-Aug-fwd-21	Editorial—New horizons -National Day of Protest
*1976-Aug-fwd-21	Strikes, demos shake South African regime (on file)
1976-09Sep-fwd-21	Ottawa aids US military front in South East Asia
1976-09Sep-fwd-21	Cross-country with the NDP— Toronto NDP slate
1976-09Sep-fwd-21	Sask. NDP raises control over potash, CPR barons
*1976-Aug-fwd-21	Damien court fight key civil rights issue (Gay rights)
1976-09Sep-fwd-21	Labor council, NDP support gay rights
1976-09Sep-fwd-21	Uncovering Canadian feminism's past
1976-09Sep-fwd-21	Cop brutality poses citizen control
*1976-Aug-fwd-21	Oh Canada- public research becomes Exxon property
1976-10Oct4	Flyer: Socialist Forum: Depression, Ukraine, Labor struggles
1976-10Oct6a	Letter from Cttee in Defense of Polish Workers
1976-10Oct6b	Meeting: Michel Chartrand, Joe Meslin, Marko Bojcun
1976-10Oct6c	Flyer: “Meeting to Defend the jailed Polish Workers”
1976-10Oct6d	Petition for right to strike without reprisal in Poland
1976-10Oct8	Forward Forum: National Day of Protest, unionists panel

1976-10Oct14a Flyer: Students: Join Canada's Day of Protest, Queen's Pk.

1976-10Oct22 Forward Forums: On 59th anniversary Russian Revolution

1976-10Oct26 Letter to LSA re collaboration in certain work areas

1976-10Oct-fwd-22 Meaning of Pan-Canadian Day of Protest

*1976-Oct-fwd-22 Labor's future in new found unity

*1976-Oct-fwd-22 What awaits labor and CLC Manifesto

1976-10Oct-fwd-22 Gov't defies juries in Morgentaler case

1976-10Oct-fwd-22 Abortion a 'private decision' – doctor's new book

1976-10Oct-fwd-22 National Student Day anti-cutbacks movement

1976-10Oct-fwd-22 Cross-country with the NDP—Nationalization needed

1976-10Oct-fwd-22 Metro NDP disunity confuses voters—Que. pilots victory

1976-10Oct-fwd-22 Oh Canada-- Cartoon on repatriating our energy policy

*1976-Oct-fwd-22 Key issues in defeat of Swede 'model' labor government (file)

*1967-Oct-fwd-22 What's needed in city planning? (Toronto Metro plan) (file)

1976-11Nov6 *Forward* Celebration of 59th Anniversary Russian Revolution

1976-11Nov12 *Flyer*: Woman's Movement class series (Forward Forum)

1976-11Nov14 SL letter to comrades & friends: delay in Branch conference

1976-11Nov23a (York U) U.L.S. election flyer: Against the fee increase

1976-11Nov98a "Draft Tasks & Perspectives Report" to Branch Conference

1976-11Nov99a (Draft) letter to LSA re their calling for reunification

1976-11Nov-Dec Ont union delegates call for socialism

*1976-Nov-fwd-23 Oct.14 (Labor) Day of Protest—acid test for the left

1976-11Nov-fwd-23 Will Quebec grant freedom to Morgentaler

1976-11Nov-fwd-23	Gov't giveaway to Reed Paper sparks Native protest
1976-11Nov-fwd-23	Taxes, cuts challenged—*Forward* & NDP candidates
1976-11Nov-fwd-23	NDPers tackle issue-Why regionalism? Forward Forums
1976-11Nov-fwd-23	Cross-country NDP—What course for women's caucus?
*1976-Nov-fwd-23	Cross-country with NDP—Bell-Nuclear power-Housing
*1976-Nov-fwd-23	Oh Canada-'Canadian content' in Readers Digest, FIRA
1976-12Dec00a	Vote for Harry Kopyto, School Trustee, Ward 4
1976-12Dec7a	Protest USSR Psychiatric abuse: Dukszta, Penner, Chomiak
1976-12Dec13	SL Forum:"Palestinians & Zionism" Kopyto & Mouammar
1976-12Dec31	Flyer: SL Sleigh Ride & New Year's Eve party
1976-98	Article draft: (RD edits) Maintain quality – cut taxes
*1976-99	(Pamphlet) Marx & Engels On the Labor Party

YORK UNIVERSITY

COUNCIL OF THE YORK STUDENT FEDERATION

MEMORANDUM

January 14, 1976

TO: All Faculty Members

FROM: Dale Ritch, President CYSF

RE: McKeough - Henderson Report

In order to oppose the regressive features of the Ontario Government's policy of cutbacks, the Ontario Federation of Students is initiating a rally at Convocation Hall, University of Toronto, on January 21 (Wednesday) at 2:00 P.M. The rally will specifically protest against the provisions of the McKeough Henderson Report.

Outstanding features of this report include the following:

1. tuition fee increases of 65% within 3 years.

2. power to set tuition fees to be placed in the hands of the individual institutions.

3. as an alternative to raising tuition fees - the firing of 2,700 full-time staff (mainly faculty) across Ontario.

Recently, we have received a leak from the Advisory Committee on Student Aid to the effect that the loan ceiling on Student Awards is to be increased by $200 in the 1976/77 academic year. It would appear that our universities will once again become institutions for the elite.

Regarding the rally at Convocation Hall, we are requesting your support. Concretely, we are asking that on this date, you do not set tests or examinations. CYSF would also appreciate the opportunity to talk to your class briefly about the report and the rally

Please contact us, if you would be prepared to have a CYSF speaker at the beginning of your class. The CYSF welcomes the support of faculty and invites you to attend the rally.

(Found in 1976)

FORWARD FORUM

PRESENTS

GREAT STRUGGLES IN CANADIAN HISTORY

SERIES OF FOUR CLASSES ON THE RICH LEGACY OF CANADA'S WORKING CLASS AND ANTI-IMPERIALIST STRUGGLES

1. JANUARY 14: THE REBELLION OF 1837 (Class War of Independence bicentennial)

Harry Kopyto will describe the anti-imperialist struggle of farmers, artisans and workers in Upper and Lower Canada against the British Crown and its colonial agents.

(Brodie didn't learn from US - Jenelle did learn from 1837 Declaration Rep)

2. JANUARY 21: THE METIS AND NATIVE REBELLIONS 1870-1885

Ross Dowson will outline the underlying conditions and events of the struggles led by Riel, Dumont and Poundmaker to defend the livelihood of the Metis and Native People from destruction by the Canadian state.

3. JANUARY 28: THE WINNIPEG GENERAL STRIKE OF 1919

Was Canada's first general strike an attempt at revolution or was it a struggle for basic civil rights? Paul Kellogg will take up this question and others in his presentation.

4. FEBRUARY 4: THE POST-WAR STRIKE WAVE 1945-48

The end of the second world war saw a tremendous wave of strikes which resulted in the formation of industrial unions in Canada and their linkup to the C.C.F. to form a labor party. The class will be given by Murray Dowson who was an active participant.

FRIDAY EVENINGS 8 PM

53 GERRARD ST W

(Found in Feb. 1976)

ONE YEAR OF ULS: BEST CYSF EVER

By Paul Kellogg & Michael Hollett

York University's first year of a United Left Slate dominated CYSF is almost over, elections are upon us and the ULS is asking for re-election.

This year, the council, which held more meetings than any before it, made major efforts to stay in close contact with the student body. From small things, like selling 10¢ coffee in the office, to holding referenda and mass meetings to gauge student support, we put our ideas into practice.

We thought that an effective student leadership must know what the issues and problems are on campus and must be open and willing to listen and act. And act we did.

An example was our participation in the September 18 provincial election.

Because the timing of the election disenfranchised many students living at school but registered in their home riding, our work included getting ballot boxes placed on campus, driving disenfranchised students to and from the Deputy Returning Officers office to get them registered, and organizing an all-candidates debate. No other CYSF has ever worked so hard to ensure that York students could exercise their democratic right to vote.

We went further, though. We took a political stand. A lot was at stake in that election, as the mammoth social services cutbacks now taking place testify. We urged students to vote against the Tories and Liberals with their cutbacks policies – and to vote for the NDP, the only party with a perspective of opposing these cutbacks and the big business interests which they serve.

This year's CYSF will certainly be remembered for its politics. But our so-called "political stands" must be put in perspective. Recognizing our mandate as a *student* leadership, we got involved in "political" issues that directly affected the campus situation. Our anti-cutbacks campaign, our campaign to protect Harbinger and Daycare, our protest against the T.T.C. fare increases, our work in the provincial election campaign, etc., all were actions that directly addressed the problems of students living and studying at York.

As well, it must be remembered that this year's CYSF, as well as being "politically-oriented", managed its affairs and discharged its responsibilities better than any previous CYSF.

SOCIAL AFFAIRS

Social and Cultural Affairs has always been a neglected area in previous councils. The ULS consciously approached its mandate this year to improve CYSF's involvement in this portfolio.

Throughout the summer we tried to coordinate with the college councils a campus-wide orientation program. Because some of the colleges refused to get involved, the project fell through. However, out of this, CYSF initiated the formation of the York Social Co-op, a joint venture between CYSF and the college councils designed to co-ordinate campus-wide social activities. It staged the very successful Dan Hill and John Lee Hooker concerts, and laid the basis for next year to really launch an exciting series of social events. CYSF also staged two free films, "The Harder They Come" and "Les Ordres", bringing the director Michel Brault to the filming of the latter to answer questions from the standing-room only audience.

An important area of our work was encouraging campus organizations to bring speakers on campus to address themselves to issues of concern to students and the community. To this end, we participated in bringing to campus, among others, Dr. Henry Morgentaler, David Lewis, Stephen Lewis, Ed Broadbent, John Saul, Peter Camejo, Katie Curtin, and even Donald Macdonald.

We continued and rationalized CYSF's role as a distributor of funds to campus clubs. Any recognized campus club received a guaranteed minimum of funds to do duplicating at the council office. Subsequent funding was done on a project by project basis, with every club with a specific project in mind that required funding presenting their project to the council. Even Radio York, which usually receives council funds, no questions asked, was called on the carpet four different times to prove the worth of their service, and to explain some questionable expenses. We finally assigned our bookkeeper to straighten out their books.

Finally, a series of exciting new activities were promoted by CYSF, among others, the Artisan's Festival and Club Days.

With the above social and cultural program in mind, it is interesting to cast an eye back one year. Last year on CYSF, social affairs amounted to the Grease Ball Boogie Band in September, and a disorganized series of handouts to campus clubs.

ACADEMIC AFFAIRS

Under the direction of Founders CYSF rep., George Manios, Academic Affairs became a meaningful portfolio this year. Last year the original academic affairs vice-president resigned early in the year, and the post sat vacant for three months. This year, George made it one of the most active parts of the CYSF executive.

He co-ordinated a detailed examination of the CYSF constitution, and the election resolution, mammoth tasks that have been going on all year and are approaching completion. He worked closely with course, departmental and faculty unions in developing a draft plan for student-controlled course evaluations that will undergo a trial run this year. And remember, George is a full-time student in political science.

An interesting aspect of last year's campaign was the following type of criticism from our opposition: "Oh yeah, socialists. Well you've got good ideas and everything, but you're impractical. You don't know how to balance the books."

Well, one year of the ULS in office has effectively dispelled that particular misconception. The first thing we did upon taking office, was give notice to our full-time business manager, whose salary of over $10,000 was severely eating into our net budget of around $70,000. A budget that small (one of the smallest per capita budgets for any student union in Canada!) can't afford what we considered to be a wasteful job. In place of a business manager, we hired a part-time bookkeeper, expanded the duties of our administrative assistant Alice Klein, and counted on a good deal of volunteer help. The net saving was over $8,000 and the office has never been better managed.

The budget is being followed, the books are balanced, and the skeptics are scratching their heads in disbelief.

REMEMBER WHEN?

The above are just a few examples of how the CYSF, under ULS leadership, provided this year the most open, approachable, active and serious student leadership ever.

Remember Ann Scotton, last year's president? She was the president who thought all social affairs involved was throwing an orientation dance. She was the president who respected democracy so much that she manipulated the constitution in every way possible to try and keep the ULS out of office.

Remember Michael Mouritsen? He came before Ann. He was the president who tried to shut down Excalibur when it began criticizing him too much.

Yes, CYSF this year was controversial. Yes, we were up front about our politics and took political stands on issues and problems facing the York community. This was in keeping with the program we were elected on, a program that said that the university can be an exciting institution involved in the problems of society, and that the student union should be a focal point of political activity. Yes, we made mistakes. But when you cast your ballot, remember, the ULS provided the first CYSF that took student affairs seriously.

ACTIVIST LEADERSHIP

CYSF this year was more than a social club where student politicos talked and passed resolutions. CYSF was a collective of active and involved students who made time between their classes to discover and try to correct the problems facing the York community, to provide the York community with interesting, necessary and well-managed student services.

We took action on the food question, on the cutbacks problem, on women's issues. We were the first CYSF to begin to organize an effective social affairs program. We were the first to take course unions seriously and to work closely with them. We competently balanced our books and efficiently distributed our funds. We provided an open, friendly and communicative CYSF, willing to listen and willing learn, a CYSF unafraid to stand up and be counted. 1975/76 was the best year of student government in the history of York.

This year, the CYSF took a step forward under ULS leadership. Help us move forward for another year. On March 17, vote ULS.

VOTE ULS

UNITED LEFT SLATE

for

A STRONG STUDENT UNION

that will fight:

• AGAINST THE CUTBACKS,

because taken to their logical conclusion, cutbacks threaten the very existence of universities. We believe education is a right for all, regardless of their wealth or social position. There is one simple alternative to educational and social service cutbacks: tax the corporations.

• FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS,

because all the gains made by women in our society are being threatened. Daycare service cutbacks, less than equal opportunities for jobs, positions of responsibility, and summer earnings, all show women are still being oppressed. At York, the status of women is no better.

• FOR STUDENT, FACULTY, STAFF CONTROL OF THE UNIVERSITY.

Why not? Without these three, the university wouldn't exist. Who has given the Board of Governors the right to speak for us and make all our decisions for us? The ULS is fighting for a university democratically controlled by the people who study and work here, a university that will work actively to improve society.

What is the United Left Slate?

The United Left Slate is not a hard-line party but a loose coalition of York student activists, including members of the NDP, other leftists, feminists, and other students who endorse our programme.

We run as a united slate because we share common beliefs and plan to work towards them together. We operate as a democratic collective through open discussions to determine the best programme and the best tactics.

In the ULS we believe there is more to campus politics than just running in elections and making vague promises.

We think students must be prepared with plans to enact their slogans, with tactics to carry out their programmes. It is for this reason the ULS exists.

We feel individual students and lone CYSF reps can't carry out our programme of opposition to cutbacks, of fighting for a more democratic university and so on. We feel that student activists must be united to work together towards these ends, hence our name.

But in the ULS we don't ignore the individual candidates in the interest of the programme. Instead the ULS combines a strong programme of ideas with experienced and proven candidates. Both are essential and this year's ULS brings together student activists who have already proven themselves, not only within CYSF, but in many other activities over the past years.

The ULS will be around after the coming elections, win or lose, and we will continue to fight for the things we believe in. Can the same be said about the other candidates and "slates"?

To support a strong student voice at York, vote ULS on March 17.

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This year, the CYSF took a step forward under ULS leadership. Help us move forward for another year. On March 17, vote ULS.

What is the United Left Slate?

The United Left Slate is not a hard-line party but a loose coalition of York student activists, including members of the NDP, other leftists, feminists, and other students who endorse our programme.

We run as a united slate because we share common beliefs and plan to work towards them together. We operate as a democratic collective through open discussions to determine the best programme and the best tactics.

In the ULS we believe there is more to campus politics than just running in elections and making vague promises.

We think students must be prepared with plans to enact their slogans, with tactics to carry out their programmes. It is for this reason the ULS exists.

We feel individual students and lone CYSF reps can't carry out our programme of opposition to cutbacks, of fighting for a more democratic university and so on. We feel that student activists must be united to work together towards these ends, hence our name.

But in the ULS we don't ignore the individual candidates in the interest of the programme. Instead the ULS combines a strong programme of ideas with experienced and proven candidates. Both are essential and this year's ULS brings together student activists who have already proven themselves, not only within CYSF, but in many other activities over the past years.

The ULS will be around after the coming elections, win or lose, and we will continue to fight for the things we believe in. Can the same be said about the other candidates and "slates"?

To support a strong student voice at York, vote ULS on March 17.

ULS Candidates

PRESIDENT

GAEL SILZER • Current Finance Vice-president of CYSF • Member – Executive of Downsview NDP Riding Association • Delegate to NDP Provincial Council • Past president, Wilson Heights NDP Riding Association • Member – Steering Committee of York Anti-Cutbacks Committee

CALUMET

MARY MARRONE • First-year student in political science • Campaigned for the NDP in the last provincial election • On the steering committee of the York Anti-Cutbacks Committee.

DONNA MOBBS • First-year student in film • Member of Canadian Association for the Repeal of the Abortion Laws (CARAL) • Founding member of the Food Action Committee (FAC)

SIMON RIVERS-MOORE • First-year general arts • Member of Canadian Association for the Repeal of the Abortion Laws (CARAL) • York Alliance Against Racism, Anti-Cutbacks Committee

FOUNDERS

DAVID JOHNSON • On steering committee of the York Anti-Cutbacks Committee • Member of the York Alliance Against Racism • Past president of Harbord Collegiate student council • Member of the York Young Socialists.

PAUL KELLOGG • Member of the CYSF for one and a half years • Third-year student in political science • Staff-writer for Excalibur • Excalibur sports editor 74/75 • Organizer of the Food Action Committee • Active member of the NDP

GEORGE MANIOS • Organizer and member of the Hellenic Students Association • CYSF Vice-president for academic affairs 75/76 • Member of Political Science Undergraduate Students Union (PSUSU) • Third-year political science

GRADUATE STUDIES

ROBERT KASHER (HOMILY) • Chairperson, United Left Coalition • Staff writer for Excalibur • Member of Radio York • Member of the Food Action Committee • Member – Steering Committee of the Anti-Cutbacks Committee • Graduate student in history, active in the NDP and CARAL

ABIE WEISFELD • Ph.D. student in political science • Current external affairs vice-president on the CYSF • Staff-writer for Excalibur • Member – editorial board of the "Ontario Student" • Member of the Socialist League Club and the NDP

MICHAIL VITOPOULOS • Graduate student in philosophy • Former president of the Hellenic Students Association • Former director of education of the Pan-Hellenic Student Association • Member of the NDP and a journalist of long standing

McLAUGHLIN

ANTHONY ASTAPHAN • Faculty of arts • Member of the York Alliance Against Racism • Member – York Soccer Team

JOSEPH LALLMAN • Second-year political science • Member of the Third World Students Union (TWSU) political committee.

HAROLD WHITE • Second-year political science and economics • Member of the TWSU and TCLSAC (a movement working for Africa Liberation)

STONG

MICHAEL HOLLETT • News editor of Excalibur, 1974 • Third-year English student • Co-editor of Flyer, first term this year • Incumbent Stong rep. on CYSF • Co-editor, Stong College Handbook • Member CYSF Finance Committee, Excalibur Board of Publications, Food Action Committee and the NDP.

DARIA MERCER • Third-year student in sociology and history • Past Arts Representative and Chairperson for Applied Arts on the Humber College Student Union • Recent seminar leader at the Humber College Housewives' Conference.

TED MUMFORD • Excalibur staff-writer for two years • Member of CKRY last year • Presently editor of the Stong Flyer and on the Stong Executive Committee

VANIER

ABE HAJJAR • Third-year history major • Active in organizing Becker store managers • Interested in bringing in more international studies programs

PAUL IORDANIDIS • Active in the Hellenic Students Association • Second-year sociology student • Strong promoter of improved understanding among cultures

TOM PRICE • Third-year fine-arts student, interested and active in social affairs • Has played the Open End and at the Rosie Douglas Benefit Concert.

WINTERS

JAMES BRENNAN • Third-year student in psychology • Member of the Food Action Committee, Anti-Cutbacks Committee, CARAL and the NDP.

JANE CHISHOLM • Active member of the NDP • Second-year history major, involved in the Anti-Cutbacks Committee and the Food Action Committee • Member of the York University Daycare Co-op

FRANK LENTO • Past organizer for the Food Workers Allied Union • Community TV producer for Channel 10 • Cultural representative for the Italo Canadian Students Association • Newswriter for Excalibur • Member of the Food Action Committee, Anti-Cutbacks Committee • Active in the Downsview Riding NDP Association • Second-year student

ULS candidates and supporters gather for strategy meeting. Pictured from left to right are: McLaughlin candidate, Harold White; Hemraj Ramdath; CYSF OSAP Ombudsperson, Mike Kates; Grad. candidate, Abie Weisfeld; Presidential candidate, Gael Silzer, Calumet candidate, Mary Marrone and Zahir Antia.

CYSF ELECTIONS MARCH 17

ELECT GAEL SILZER PRESIDENT

Student unity a must

By Paul Kellogg & Dale Ritch

In the fall of this year, the college council presidents including CYSF presidential candidate Izidore Mussalam organized a committee to consider restructuring of CYSF. Although their final conclusions were never made public, the excerpts and quotes that emerged in Excalibur indicated that it involved decentralizing student government at York, giving more power to the college councils.

Barry Edson, in an interview with Excalibur picked up on this theme. He was quoted as calling for a change in the CYSF constitution that would force anyone running in the CYSF to first be on a college council. In fact, the only elected positions Edson envisioned were four executive spots. Every other member of the CYSF would be delegated from the college councils.

The effect of this plan, if implemented, would be to subordinate CYSF totally to the wishes of the college councils. CYSF would be but an extension of the college councils, subordinate to their whims and interests, in fact it would not exist as an independent entity.

The ULS is unconditionally opposed to this plan. It is a backward and regressive step that in no way serves the interests of students on campus.

The Edson/Musallam plan has been tried before.

Before 1968, there was no central student government on campus. For the first years of York's existence, student government followed the structure as laid down by the Board of Governors. Each college governed itself and there was not even a central co-ordinating committee.

By 1968, the college councils had found this set-up to be inadequate. They thus constituted a central student government that later became the CYSF.

There were good reasons why the pre-1968 set-up was inadequate and why the Edson/Musallam plan is doomed to failure – the college councils cannot possibly fulfill the functions of a strong central student government.

Students have interests and concerns that transcend the colleges. Ethnic clubs, course unions, Excalibur and Radio York all need an organization like the CYSF as a co-ordinating body.

But more than this, students need one campus-wide, representative body to defend and represent our interests.

It's only logical. Both the faculty and staff on campus have their respective associations which have grown and consolidated as faculty and staff realize the necessity to present a united front to the administration in defense of their interests.

Are students to be the only group on campus without a centralized representative body? Are we to present seven different faces to the administration rather than one?

The CYSF is necessary to represent York students in front of the provincial and federal governments. It is necessary so that York will have productive input into the Ontario Federation of Students and the National Union of Students.

An organized, strong student voice is doubly important in an age of cutbacks. As long as students remain fragmented, isolated and unorganized, we will be unable to effectively fight education cutbacks.

The college councils provide valuable social and cultural activities. But they are, by their very nature, incapable of taking on serious political responsibilities. Founders College council is a case in point. The vast majority of its members are past or present residence students and 12 of 14 were acclaimed. Stong College has the most extreme example. As of 1976, it has no representative student government at all. The general meeting folded for lack of interest).

In general the same problems exist for all college councils. They generally represent only residence students and they generally are ignored by college students, hence the acclamations.

York needs a strong student union to represent and defend the interests of York students. To this end:

- We must encourage the growth of course unions to provide a forum for students who don't feel adequately represented in college councils.
- We must actively campaign to bring Bethune into CYSF, thus creating a real campus-wide CYSF. Concrete steps have already been made with the CYSF-Bethune co-operation over the food issue.
- The York U Social Co-op which was initiated by CYSF, must be strengthened to include colleges such as Stong.
- We must continue to support the Ontario Federation of Students and the National Union of Students to build a student movement which can eventually reach across the province.
- CYSF must be independent from the college councils and have guaranteed funding from the administration.

Bear in mind, that York does not have a strong studen union. It is young, has no guaranteed financial independence, and has one of the smallest per capita budgets of any student union in Canada. $27 of our tuition goes to student government. $17 of this goes to the college councils and only $10 to CYSF. Even financially, we are working under severe limits.

The ULS is the only organization running in the elections that understands the importance of student unionism. Elect a ULS majority on CYSF and we will be one step further towards developing a strong, united student voice at York.

GET INVOLVED

The ULS is having a **Fund-raising party,** Bethune dining-hall, 8 p.m.: Tues., March 16, 50¢ at the door.

Get involved in the campaign: Visit our literature table in Central Square, or attend our campaign meetings, every night, **4:30 p.m. in the Clubs Room (-3532)**

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Pres. Macdonald calls for tuition increase

CUTBACKS THREATEN EDUCATION

By Paul Kellogg

Does money matter? Not according to a certain Excalibur editor. Objecting to a proposed feature on cutbacks, he was heard to say, "this cutbacks business is boring. We've already done one article on it. I thought people were here to study."

Well, it's true, cutbacks and money matters are boring and mundane, and we are here to study. The fact is, however, that if the cutbacks continue at their present rate, we won't be able to afford to even attend university, let alone study here.

The McKeough-Henderson report, a report on how the Ontario government's budget can be cut, recommends a 65% increase in tuition over the next three years, elimination of the grant portion of the student awards program, and a hiring freeze in all universities and community colleges in Ontario.

York President, H. Ian Macdonald came out publicly against the report. A short while later, he consigned a document from the Council of Ontario Universities, an organization of university presidents, calling for a 25% tuition increase, and an immediate end to all grants. It was different in detail from the McKeough document, but not in principle.

IDEAL

Both reports are based on the premise that students should bear the largest portion of education costs. It's not a new idea.

- the Ontario Tory sponsored COPSEO report (1971) recommends that students should pay 50% of operating costs in future, instead of 13% as of 1971:
- the federal Peitchinis Report (1972) suggests that students should pay 58% of operating costs.

None of these reports are fully implemented – yet. But we feel their growing weight more and more.

- Loan ceilings are going up $200 next year.
- The Board of Governors acquiesing to the government's cutbacks policy has a stated policy of making a profit from ancillary services, such as food. Consequently, food prices are up 20-30% this year, and the cost of scrip for next year is jumping over 30%.
- Classes are getting bigger, and the number of professors is remaining the same, or worse, declining. Atkinson College, which has the lowest per student spending, experienced an actual decrease in faculty this year, while enrolment increased 10%.

MONEY MATTERS

"Does Money Matter" is the name of a report published by York professors before the most recent cutbacks emerged. It found that youths from lower class backgrounds planned to drop out of school after grade 12 much more frequently than youths from middle and upper class families, because poorer youths were unwilling to assume huge debts to get a post-secondary education. With the new round of cutbacks since that report, who knows how many potential students have been forced to drop out?

Education cutbacks are part of a broad range of social service cutbacks being perpetrated by our governments. One way they affect us is in summer employment.

Opportunities for Youth is gone, and with it, 7,000 Ontario summer jobs. Combined with federal cuts in summer job programs, there will be 29,000 less government jobs this summer across Canada. Canada Manpower estimates it will have 500,000 students file for summer employment, and be able to place less than 200,000.

The government rationale for cutbacks is that costs have gotten out of hand and that there is no money available. This is clearly ridiculous. Hospital costs, for example, rather than getting out of hand have actually declined over the last three years as a percentage of the gross provincial product.

There is money around. As we hesitantly climb out of the worst world-wide economic crisis since the depression, one thing that hasn't been cut back is corporate profits. But, the government is unwilling to tape this source of revenue. The priorities of our governments are not social services. The priorities of our governments are the priorities of big business. Profits will be the last thing to be cut back.

- The Ontario Tories claim to be saving $25 million in social service cutbacks. In the same breath, they announce that they will spend the same amount on an extension to Highway 400, at best a very dubious means of mass transportation.
- The Tories say there is no money to spend on education and then invest $100 million in the Syncrude oil project, a project which federal NDP leader Ed Broadbent calls the biggest rip-off in Canadian history.
- The federal Liberals are throwing $300 million into the same project and spending $100 million on, of all things, a mammoth centre for the armed forces to make them bilingual!
- **From 1962 to 1970, the corporate share of all provincial revenue declined from 60% to 25% while the share of individual income tax rose from 40% to 75%.**

FREE RIDE

The March 6 Toronto Star had an interesting article on cutbacks in Metro transit. It asked the question, "does business get a free ride?" It made the point that, for all the benefit business gets from transit, ferrying workers to work, and customers to retail outlets, "it pays a measly 15% for the operation of public transit, while the rest of the public, through taxes and fares, puts up 85%." Toronto alderman Colin Vaughan points this out and concludes, "what we need to do is raise an additional tax from business, specifically to supplement the TTC. After all, the commercial sector depends as much as anybody else, and perhaps more so, on public transit."

Public transit isn't the only area the corporations are getting a free ride. For skilled technicians and well-educated and highly specialized workers, the corporations depend on universities. Yet **none of the taxes that pay for university education come from the corporate sector.**

Why not tax the corporations to pay for education? It's not so far-fetched. A study by the Ontario Federation of Students shows that a mere 6% increase in corporate taxation would double the amount of money available for student aid. That's peanuts.

FIGHT BACK

The cutbacks can be fought. On March 24, the York Anti-Cutbacks Committee is calling for a half-day moratorium so that members of the York community can study just what the cutbacks mean. The ULS supports this action as an important step forward in raising awareness about the cutbacks.

The ULS supports the Ontario Federation of Students and the National Union of Students in their drive to organize students on a provincial and nation-wide basis. We supported and participated in the January 21 rally and demonstration at Queen's Park, called by O.F.S. to protest the McKeough-Henderson Report and cutbacks in general, a demonstration called after four years of ineffectual lobbying.

On April 3, the Coalition Against Coalition will be having a demonstration at Queen's Park, protesting the social service cutbacks. It is vital that we identify with and support the coalition and similar organizations to prevent our campaign from remaining isolated.

Over the course of the year, the ULS-led CYSF worked in close contact with the Faculty Association and the Staff Association. If re-elected, we would continue this work, building a strong common front of students, faculty and staff, working on issues and problems where we have common interests and goals.

We must have no illusions about the York administration being an ally of the students. Their overall policy has been to implement the cutbacks rather than fight against them.

In fact, President Macdonald, as the Deputy Treasurer of Ontario was responsible for designing cutback policies in the first place! We can look only to ourselves and to the staff and faculty for allies.

We can win, but only if we organize the strength of the students, faculty and staff on a province-wide basis.

2500 students gather on the steps of the provincial legislature Jan. 21, in a demonstration called by the Ontario Federation of Students. Over 100 York students participated in the action, protesting cutbacks in post-secondary education financing.

With the election around the corner, the ULS once again finds itself running against a hastily slapped-together "team" and a lonely independent. Who's kidding who?

The so-called "team" is headed by Barry Edson, alleged chairperson of the York NDP club. It's interesting to note the NDP club hasn't met once this term, and we should know: half the ULS is in it. And Barry Edson hopes to run the CYSF. How many meetings would it have next year?

Edson claims that he, like the ULS, is against cutbacks. This is surprising to hear from a man who has Liberals and right-wing Tories in his camp. These are the parties of big business that initialled the cutbacks in the first place.

Edson says he wants to lobby and conduct a PR campaign against cutbacks. The Ontario Federation of Students (OFS) has been doing this for four years. They said they called the January 21 rally at Convocation Hall out of frustration at the failure of these tactics.

CONFRONTATION?

He accuses the ULS of relying solely on confrontation tactics, yet what does he call the March 24 moratorium we organized that is supported by YUFA and YUSA, and for which even Ian Macdonald may cancel classes? It is actions of this sort that show the government we have united campus support and which educate the York community of the cutbacks danger.

And this brings up another issue. Barry Edson talks of a "community program".

ULS calls for student, faculti

Faculty an

By Gord Graham & Robert Kasher

Feeling the double crunch of cutbacks and wage controls, it's no accident that York's employees are organizing like never before.

Over the past year, York's faculty have formed a union (YUFA), the staff union (YUSA) has been revitalized, and the Graduate Assistants' Association (GAA) has been certified. These are all significant developments – York President Ian Macdonald said they ushered in "a new era of collective bargaining at York".

Everyone employed by a university has been hurt by the cutbacks in education funding. York itself pays among the lowest faculty salaries of any Ontario university. Wages for staff workers have fallen far behind inflation, or pay rates for

Discrimination on campus

The racist and anti-semitic defacing of Bethune College, and the disgusting emergence of fascist slime calling themselves the "National Socialist Underground", underlines the importance of electing a CYSF that will actively defend minority rights.

The ULS believes that:

—No avowed racists, anti-semites, or fascists be allowed to organize to propagate their views on campus.

— The CYSF, working in the interests of immigrant students, must protest and struggle to change discriminatory immigration laws.

Our immigration laws are discriminatory. That is beyond question. Peter Stollery, Liberal chairperson of the Commons Manpower and Immigration Committee, commenting on recent changes in Canada's immigration laws, said: "My feeling is that the government is cutting back on immigration because we are being swamped by applications from non-white countries."

Most government officials are less honest, saying that immigration is being cut back to reduce unemployment. Dennis McDermott, the Canadian director of the United Auto Workers, put this analysis in its correct perspective: "Immigration policies are being used as a scapegoat for the failure of the government's monetary and fiscal policies."

— The Third World Students' Union must get their requested office space in a central location.

—We should oppose any discrimination against gays on campus. We call for the reinstatement of John Damien and support the demand that the Ontario Human Rights Code be amended so that the word "sex" also mean "sexual orientation", there be no discrimination against people on the basis of their sexual preference.

Because students have the education and the time to involve themselves in important issues and because students are affected by the day to day events off campus as much as anybody else, CYSF has the responsibility to draw attention to and organize in defence of oppressed people in Canada and throughout the world.

This year, the ULS-led CYSF organized defense campaigns for Rosie Douglas, York student Kesnore Juggernauth, and Jamaican immigrant Nenemian Richards. If re-elected, we would continue to actively defend the rights of discriminated and oppressed students on campus.

York power structure needs

By Gord Graham

York is known as a liberal university committed to progressive policies.

But the university is an institution in our society, and thus plays a role that reflects failings of that society.

This means that at York, as outside, power is concentrated, almost feudally at the top.

The Ontario government vested the broadest decision-making powers in the Board of Governors when it created the university with the York University Act of 1965.

The Board maintains control of York's overall budget and hires its chief administrators. In this way, the Board sets the financial priorities of York, and decides which areas prosper and which are cut back.

There are two students and two faculty elected to the Board, a token gesture. Only three women sit on it now. The rest of the twenty-seven board members are high level executives drawn from large corporations and banks. When a Board member vacates his seat, the board itself appoints his replacement, a sign that this body functions as a self-perpetuating autocracy.

PRO-BUSINESS

An example of the Board's pro-business perpective is its refusal to budget deficits – they would rather see staff and faculty lose ground to inflation, students pay increased costs for basic services, and York's academic standards eroded, than forego the corporate ideal of a balanced budget.

And York is one of the largest universities in Canada whose Board still operates in closed meetings and with secret minutes.

The President and his office are charged with the daily administration of the university. He is responsible to the Board and must work within the framework of the Board's budget. The President's office is basically an institutional bureaucracy, and the Presidency more a figurehead post than it seems.

The faculty has basic sovereignty over academic policies through the Senate, which consists of 150 members. Only 15 of these are students. Senate committees regulate academic activities like course content, hiring, tenure and exams.

The Senate's power is limited somewhat by the fact that it must stay within the budget set by the Board.

FEW STUDENTS

But unfortunately the Senate is dominated by the most entrenched professors, who are tenured and have time for departmental politics. These men have little in common with the aspirations of the younger, more progressive and untenured faculty, and students.

There is only token student input to tenure and promotion committees at York. Through the creation of strong course unions, this input can be fought for, but there will be a long struggle before students' opinions of their profs' teaching abilities will be considered relevant to their promotion and tenure.

The contrast between these adminis-

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Opportunities for Youth is gone, and with it, 7,000 Ontario summer jobs. Combined with federal cuts in summer job programs, there will be 29,000 less government jobs this summer across Canada. Canada Manpower estimates it will have 500,000 students file for summer employment, and be able to place less than 200,000.

The government rationale for cutbacks is that costs have gotten out of hand and that there is no money available. This is clearly ridiculous. Hospital costs, for example, rather than getting out of hand have actually declined over the last three years as a percentage of the gross provincial product.

There is money around. As we hesitantly climb out of the worst world-wide economic crisis since the depression, one thing that hasn't been cut back is corporate profits. But, the government is unwilling to tape this source of revenue. The priorities of our governments are not social services. The priorities of our governments are the priorities of big business. Profits will be the last thing to be cut back.

- The Ontario Tories claim to be saving $25 million in social service cutbacks. In the same breath, they announce that they will spend the same amount on an extension to Highway 400, at best a very dubious means of mass transportation.
- The Tories say there is no money to spend on education and then invest $100 million in the Syncrude oil project, a project which federal NDP leader Ed Broadbent calls the biggest rip-off in Canadian history.
- The federal Liberals are throwing $300 million into the same project and spending $100 million on, of all things, a mammoth centre for the armed forces to make them bilingual!
- **From 1962 to 1970, the corporate share of all provincial revenue declined from 60% to 25% while the share of individual income tax rose from 40% to 75%.**

FREE RIDE

The March 6 Toronto Star had an interesting article on cutbacks in Metro transit. It asked the question, "does business get a free ride?" It made the point that, for all the benefit business gets from transit, ferrying workers to work, and customers to retail outlets, "it pays a measly 15% for the operation of public transit, while the rest of the public, through taxes and fares, puts up 85%." Toronto alderman Colin Vaughan points this out and concludes, "what we need to do is raise an additional tax from business, specifically to supplement the TTC. After all, the commercial sector depends as much as anybody else, and perhaps more so, on public transit."

Public transit isn't the only area the corporations are getting a free ride. For skilled technicians and well-educated and highly specialized workers, the corporations depend on universities. Yet **none of the taxes that pay for university education come from the corporate sector.**

Why not tax the corporations to pay for education? It's not so far-fetched. A study by the Ontario Federation of Students shows that a mere 6% increase in corporate taxation would double the amount of money available for student aid. That's peanuts.

FIGHT BACK

The cutbacks can be fought. On March 24, the York Anti-Cutbacks Committee is calling for a half-day moratorium so that members of the York community can study just what the cutbacks mean. The ULS supports this action as an important step forward in raising awareness about the cutbacks.

The ULS supports the Ontario Federation of Students and the National Union of Students in their drive to organize students on a provincial and nation-wide basis. We supported and participated in the January 21 rally and demonstration at Queen's Park, called by O.F.S. to protest the McKeough-Henderson Report and cutbacks in general, a demonstration called after four years of ineffectual lobbying.

On April 3, the Coalition Against Coalition will be having a demonstration at Queen's Park, protesting the social service cutbacks. It is vital that we identify with and support the coalition and similar organizations to prevent our campaign from remaining isolated.

Over the course of the year, the ULS-led CYSF worked in close contact with the Faculty Association and the Staff Association. If re-elected, we would continue this work, building a strong common front of students, faculty and staff, working on issues and problems where we have common interests and goals.

We must have no illusions about the York administration being an ally of the students. Their overall policy has been to implement the cutbacks rather than fight against them.

In fact, President Macdonald, as the Deputy Treasurer of Ontario was responsible for designing cutback policies in the first place! We can look only to ourselves and to the staff and faculty for allies.

We can win, but only if we organize the strength of the students, faculty and staff on a province-wide basis.

Discrimination on campus

The racist and anti-semitic defacing of Bethune College, and the disgusting emergence of fascist slime calling themselves the "National Socialist Underground", underlines the importance of electing a CYSF that will actively defend minority rights.

The ULS believes that:

—No avowed racists, anti-semites, or fascists be allowed to organize to propagate their views on campus.

— The CYSF, working in the interests of immigrant students, must protest and struggle to change discriminatory immigration laws.

Our immigration laws are discriminatory. That is beyond question. Peter Stollery, Liberal chairperson of the Commons Manpower and Immigration Committee, commenting on recent changes in Canada's immigration laws, said: "My feeling is that the government is cutting back on immigration because we are being swamped by applications from non-white countries."

Most government officials are less honest, saying that immigration is being cut back to reduce unemployment. Dennis McDermott, the Canadian director of the United Auto Workers, put this analysis in its correct perspective: "Immigration policies are being used as a scapegoat for the failure of the government's monetary and fiscal policies."

— The Third World Students' Union must get their requested office space in a central location.

—We should oppose any discrimination against gays on campus. We call for the reinstatement of John Damien and support the demand that the Ontario Human Rights Code be amended so that the word "sex" also mean "sexual orientation"; there be no discrimination against people on the basis of their sexual preference.

Because students have the education and the time to involve themselves in important issues and because students are affected by the day to day events off campus as much as anybody else, CYSF has the responsibility to draw attention to and organize in defence of oppressed people in Canada and throughout the world.

This year, the ULS-led CYSF organized defense campaigns for Rosie Douglas, York student Kesnore Juggernauth, and Jamaican immigrant Nenemian Richards. If re-elected, we would continue to actively defend the rights of discriminated and oppressed students on campus.

Who's kidding who?

Isn't he aware that this year's CYSF has already taken major steps towards integrating with the outside community? From sponsoring a kids soccer team in the Jane-Finch area, giving duplicating services to local tenants' groups and even meeting with high school students councils, we've let the outside community know we're here. We are also members of the Metro-wide Coalition Against Cutbacks and our anti-cutbacks program calls for even more community co-operation.

DO NOTHING

Edson has a position on food: lie down and do nothing. He wants the caterers to stay another year, but if they do the York community will remain subject to their profit-oriented whims. Edson says he wants what the students want – someone should tell Barry we voted two to one for a non-profit, community-run operation. Edson's food policy should win him a lunch invitation from Ian Macdonald.

Backing up Edson is his slap-dash "team". Some team, they don't even have a program. In the ULS, after long debate and discussion we determine our program and then someone to lead us in fighting for it. This year we chose Gail Silzer. Not so with Edson. He simply decided he wanted to run for president, possibly to further his goal of a career in politics. Then he ran around dredging up his "team"! This is the same type of formation as last year's York Party, remember them? They appeared around election time and then vaporized faster than Cinderella's carriage after they lost.

On the other hand, the ULS which has been around for five years will be around after this year's elections, win or lose, to continue to fight for what we believe in. We are united around a serious program. If the Edson "team" is united, one can only guess around what. Who can take a "team" seriously that recruits members after their nominations were handed in?

And if Edson and his "team" are serious, where have they been all year when they could have been fighting for whatever it is they believe in? They sure weren't on any of the York committees doing serious work this year.

NO CREDIBILITY

Then there's the other presidential hopeful, Izidore Mussalam. Izo tells us he doesn't believe in politics, so we wonder why he runs in elections. It's interesting to note that Izo took part in initiating a campaign to abolish CYSF last year, yet now he wants to be its president. Where's his credibility? By the way, Mussalam was never elected as president of the Founders College Council, he was acclaimed. When Izo asked the Council to support him in his bid for president, they overwhelmingly refused.

So, we find our opponents in this election are, a jester and his court and a lone, stand-up comic. It's not funny, we won't be able to laugh off a bad student government at this critical point in the university's existence. Vote ULS on March 17.

One yr. after Women's report, still nothing has changed

By Mary Marrone & Alice Klein

Almost two years ago the Task Force on the Status of Women at York (SWY) presented their report, *"... in the expectation that Senate will receive it enthusiastically, consider thoroughly the recommendations contained in it and encourage and support expeditious action on most if not all of them. Needless to say, the members of the Task Force expect their efforts to be rewarded by action... The Task Force thinks that generally the situation of women in the universities has been thoroughly investigated and that the time for study is over. Corrective action is long overdue."*

The report found "corrective action" necessary because women in this society are still the second sex. Expected to define house and home as the centre of their outlook, women who attempt to reach outside of these bounds are penalized.

Corrective action necessary

At York this has meant, for example that: *"an examination of average salary by rank and sex of full-time faculty at York University for the year 72-73 indicates that female faculty earned less money in every rank above the instructor level."* (p 24 SWY)

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"While close to 40% of York's undergraduates are women only 19.8% of all graduate students are women." (p. 174 SWY) And the list goes on.

Rather than the "corrective action" hoped for by the authors of the report, International Women's Year notwithstanding, no improvements in the situation of women were registered. Rather, with cutbacks the new credo of university policy, existing services to women are being threatened.

Childcare threatened

The availability of childcare facilities, basic to student and working parents at the university, is under increasing attack. Those who will suffer most are students.

Last October, Metro froze the number of subsidies they would make available to parents who couldn't pay the full cost of DayCare ($135 to $150 + 20 hrs. participation or $3 per hour for each hour missed). Any new children will have to pay the entire fee unless one of the already subsidized children leaves the Centre. Moreover, since the amount of the subsidy was frozen at a level below the actual cost of providing childcare, the centre will therefore be forced to give preference to full fee-paying children. Student parents are in the process of being forced out of York Childcare.

The Metro cutbacks make the need for the York Administration to contribute to the centre increasingly pressing. While the administration claims to be covering rent of the facilities, our research indicates that rent is, in fact covered in large part by all the Graduate residents students. (The Centre is lodged in the Atkinson Residence) through their rent. The York administration's actual contribution to childcare is minimal.

Administration indifference

The administration's indifference to services of special importance to women is also reflected in their unwillingness to provide secure funds for Harbinger – (the student-run counselling and referral centre operating out of Vanier). While Harbinger serves the entire York Community, the fact that they provide counselling in unplanned pregnancies; abortion referrals; birth control, venereal disease and health care information; as well as counselling in relationships and sexual problems, makes them a service vital to women – since membership in the York community does not free women from the rest of the pressures and problems associated with womanhood in our society.

Tip of the iceberg

These issues are only the tip of the iceberg. Salary differentials based on sex are unlikely to be rectified in the midst of wage controls. New resources to service the new intellectual interest in women's studies are unlikely to be forthcoming at a time when the library budget is shrinking. And above all, the university, rather than acting as a source of enlightenment to the rest of society, will continue to reinforce discrimination and prejudice.

No magical solutions

We, in the ULS, have no magical solutions to these problems. But we do know that unless we take them seriously we have no hope of rectifying them. We know that to win adequate childcare facilities on campus we will have to demand both an end to the Government's cutbacks policy and a direct financial contribution for operating costs from the administration. We will have to pressure the administration for guaranteed funding for Harbinger. And we will have to take a stand on the issues that transcend the university – issues like repeal of the abortion laws to facilitate freedom of choice for women, like defense of Dr. Morgentaler, equality for women under the law, equal pay and quality childcare.

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faculty, staff control

and staff organize

comparable work off campus. Graduate assistants, straining under the high cost of living, have not had a pay increase in the last three years. And now the wage controls make catching up almost impossible.

SAME GOALS

Students working part time and in the summer will feel the brunt of the wage controls too. Our earning power has been frozen at the same time as tuition is being unpegged so every university can raise its own fees. And prices for everybody else are still rising.

Both cutbacks and wage controls can be seen as attacks on students and workers that threaten our common livelihoods and our futures.

Since we fight for the same goals and face the same threat, we feel that students should support workers, both on campus and in the wider realm outside the university.

It's also important for students to link up with other groups in our strategy to oppose cutbacks. The moratorium to be held on March 24 will be a good example of how co-operation between groups like CYSF, YUFA, YUSA and GAA can create a much broader opposition to our common enemy, the cutbacks.

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As students we can learn from their movement towards stronger organization, by pressing on to establish a strong, centralized student union that speaks for the interest of all students at York.

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The ULS supports the concept that the university should be controlled by all those who study, work and teach here, and not by the present structures, determined by the Conservative government, that protect the interests of big business, of a self-perpetuating bureaucracy, and of regressive faculty.

Only then will the progressive image of York University be turned from a myth into a reality.

Food referendum ignored, scrip up thirty per cent

By James Brennan & Michael Hollett

Food is and has been a major issue at York for years. Why? — the lay-offs of the Versa workers, high prices, poor quality, compulsory scrip and the basic inability of students to do anything about these problems.

The last point, is the real issue, the powerless nature of students, and other members of the York community, to control our food services and finally, our university.

The administration has demonstrated they do not feel responsible to the York community because they refuse to deal with us honestly. They mire the discussion of food services in double-talk and circular debate. Apologists for the administration continually banter about obscure figures and misleading arguments.

Why won't they deal with us honestly and on a sincere level? Because they simply do not feel responsible to the York community. Instead they serve Queen's Park by enacting the Tory cutbacks in education. They also serve the Board of Governors, a self-perpetuating, elitist body designed to serve business interests rather than the students, faculty and staff who make up this university.

In order to serve these interests the administration deliberately tries to work in secrecy and community confusion. Why, for example, does the administration bother to claim they have been losing money on food services the past few years? Even a brief glance at their figures shows that instead of losing money, they've at worst been breaking even. It only looks as if York has been losing money on food because the administration fabricates high overhead costs by having the Department of Physical Plant charge exorbitant prices for providing heat, lighting, etc. in the cafeterias. So, in fact, this money that is supposedly being lost is merely being diverted to another university department.

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And this year, not satisfied to continue to claim losses, the administration issued a directive demanding that food services make a profit. At whose expense? Ours of course.

And try they did. The university invited five caterers on campus, the main ones being Rill and Commercial, who immediately jacked prices up as much as 30 per cent and heartlessly fired the old staff.

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Commercial is now out as a result of ULS/CYSF and Food Action Committee initiated protest. But what's next?

The administration is planning on bringing in a new caterer in their place even though students voted two to one in a December CYSF referendum to replace caterers with student-staff-faculty controlled, non-profit food services. Strangely enough, Barry Edson and his *team* are siding with the administration on this issue not the students. Students will also be forced to buy even more scrip next year. We voted to abolish it in the referendum.

We believe food services should be just that, a *service*. But food services run by caterers and the administration, as a business venture, a money making enterprise, are anything but that. Surely this is not in the best interest of the York community. Why should we be the pawns in a profit game played by the caterers and the administration? The principal responsibility of food services at York should be to feed the York community rather than be a source of profit for outside entrepreneurs.

This will never happen when an unresponsive administration runs the show, so, we in the ULS call for student-staff-faculty control of food services as the first step towards building a truly democratic university.

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York power structure needs change

By Gord Graham

York is known as a liberal university committed to progressive policies.

But the university is an institution in our society, and thus plays a role that reflects failings of that society.

This means that at York, as outside, power is concentrated, almost feudally at the top.

The Ontario government vested the broadest decision-making powers in the Board of Governors when it created the university with the York University Act of 1965.

The Board maintains control of York's overall budget and hires its chief administrators. In this way, the Board sets the financial priorities of York, and decides which areas prosper and which are cut back.

There are two students and two faculty elected to the Board, a token gesture. Only three women sit on it now. The rest of the twenty-seven board members are high level executives drawn from large corporations and banks. When a Board member vacates his seat, the Board itself appoints his replacement, a sign that this body functions as a self-perpetuating autocracy.

PRO-BUSINESS

An example of the Board's pro-business perpective is its refusal to budget deficits – they would rather see staff and faculty lose ground to inflation, students pay increased costs for basic services, and York's academic standards eroded, than forego the corporate ideal of a balanced budget.

And York is one of the largest universities in Canada whose Board still operates in closed meetings and with secret minutes.

The President and his office are charged with the daily administration of the university. He is responsible to the Board and must work within the framework of the Board's budget. The President's office is basically an institutional bureaucracy, and the Presidency more a figurehead post than it seems.

The faculty has basic sovereignty over academic policies through the Senate, which consists of 150 members. Only 15 of these are students. Senate committees regulate academic activities like course content, hiring, tenure and exams.

The Senate's power is limited somewhat by the fact that it must stay within the budget set by the Board.

FEW STUDENTS

But unfortunately the Senate is dominated by the most entrenched professors, who are tenured and have time for departmental politics. These men have little in common with the aspirations of the younger, more progressive and untenured faculty, and students.

There is only token student input to tenure and promotion committees at York. Through the creation of strong course unions, this input can be fought for, but there will be a long struggle before students' opinions of their profs' teaching abilities will be considered relevant to their promotion and tenure.

The contrast between these administrative structures, and student political structures at York are also startling.

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ULS calls for student, faculty, staff control

Faculty and staff organize

By Gord Graham & Robert Kasher

Feeling the double crunch of cutbacks and wage controls, it's no accident that York's employees are organizing like never before.

Over the past year, York's faculty have formed a union (YUFA), the staff union (YUSA) has been revitalized, and the Graduate Assistants' Association (GAA) has been certified. These are all significant developments – York President Ian Macdonald said they ushered in "a new era of collective bargaining at York".

Everyone employed by a university has been hurt by the cutbacks in education funding. York itself pays among the lowest faculty salaries of any Ontario university. Wages for staff workers have fallen far behind inflation, or pay rates for comparable work off campus. Graduate assistants, straining under the high cost of living, have not had a pay increase in the last three years. And now the wage controls make catching up almost impossible. possible.

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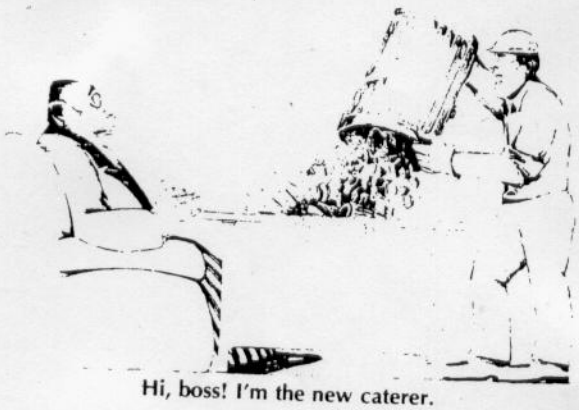

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2. JANUARY 21: THE METIS AND NATIVE REBELLIONS 1870-1885

Ross Dowson will outline the underlying conditions and events of the struggles led by Riel, Dumont and Poundmaker to defend the livelihood of the Metis and Native People from destruction by the Canadian state.

3. JANUARY 28: THE WINNIPEG GENERAL STRIKE OF 1919

Was Canada's first general strike an attempt at revolution or was it a struggle for basic civil rights? Paul Kellogg will take up this question and others in his presentation.

4. FEBRUARY 4: THE POST-WAR STRIKE WAVE 1945-48

The end of the second world war saw a tremendous wave of strikes which resulted in the formation of industrial unions in Canada and their linkup to the C.C.F. to form a labor party. The class will be given by Murray Dowson who was an active participant.

Ross's notes

FRIDAY EVENINGS 8 PM

53 GERRARD ST W

2 passports Boat for reduction in hours Increase in wages

(Found in 1967).

Quebec's Road to Independence

A SERIES OF TWO DISCUSSIONS

The Parti Quebecois

FRIDAY FEB. 11

-What is the class character of the PQ?
-How should socialists regard the PQ?
-What is the meaning of Levesque's New York speech?
- Will the PQ lead Quebec to independence?

●

Where is Canada Going?

FRIDAY FEB. 18

-Can Quebec separate peacefully?
-How would Quebec's independence affect Confederation?
-What does Confederation mean to Canadian workers?
-What position should socialists and the NDP take with regard to Quebec's independence?

●

SPEAKER: DALE RITCH

●

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THE FORWARD FORUM

53 GERRARD ST. W. 8 PM

INFORMATION 595-1284

Wednesday February 25, 1976

United Left Slate Convention on the CYSF elections

Programmatic submission of Dale R., Abie W., Paul K.

I In terms of the priorities for the programme the following to be considered central:

anti-cutbacks
student unionism and student activism
student-faculty-staff control
woman's rights

and that the specific formulations for these central priorities be :

Vote ULS

for a

Student Union that will

Fight against cutbacks and make education a right

Fight for Woman's Rights

Fight for a university controlled by Students-Faculty and Staff

II In terms of the programme itself, the form that it should take on is that of a series of programmatic blocs to consist of the following:

1) cutbacks
2) student-faculty-staff control
3) student unionism
4) woman
5) for a university against discrimination
6) students and labor

and as well a section on the previous year's ULC-led CYSF endorsing its record. (7)

Each of these sections in the programme should include the following points:

1) Cutbacks

-no tuition fee increases
-rollback increases in tuition
-a sub-section on food
-on student unemployment pointing to the lack of research and development in Canada cutting across grad. employment
-raising government subsidies to U.S. subsidiaries while social services to Canadians are cut back
-tax the corporations
-opposition to social sector cutbacks in general

2) Student-Faculty-Staff Control

-replacing the Board of Governors with a governing council under student-faculty-staff control
-to call for an end to corporate domination and point out the strong U.S. corporate ties of the Board of Governors

3) Student Unionism

-for a strong central student union to fight for students interests
-to bring Bethune College into CYSF
-to support the Ontario Federation of Students and the National Union of Students

4) Woman

-day care
-Morgentaler defence
-implement study on woman's status at York
-guaranteed funding for Harbinger from admin.
-no cutbacks in woman's studies

5) A University Against Discrimination

-gay rights
-immigrant students'rights

6) Students and Labor

-Common Front strategy on issues with
YUFA, YUSA, GAA, CUPE local, and non-unionized
workers on campus
-opposition to the wage freeze
-reference to the common interests of workers and students

7) CYSF Record

-point out how the CYSF under ULC leadership could
have improved its operation
-give overall support to the record of the
previous years' CYSF
-give support to the CYSF's camapign in support of
the NDP's ~~programme during the provincial election~~

Conclusion:

That the previous year's ULS programme be utilized in writing up this year's programme and that the specific write up for the programme be edited by an editorial board.

6 Officials;
3
Two - tabled
Two - left @ 5:40 pm
DP has 13
ULF - due process resign
-- Xec withheld
— Xcalibur — writers — two are not authorized —
all 6 ULF excluded from voting
/ four Lbs
YSF — Moratorium Mar 24
Referendum 40

CHAIRMAN TRUDEAU

PM accidently poses socialism as issue

By the Editors

Is the millionaire P.E. Trudeau, head of Canada's big business party par excellence, and the prime minister of Canada, really some kind of a red, a communist? Is he highballing Canadian society toward a form of corporate state? Is he suffering from illusions of grandeur that he is an Orwellian Big Brother, or even the Pope?

Impossible as it is to believe, Trudeau is being publicly denounced as such, by a galaxy of public figures and in particular by the heads of Canada's corporate elite, from the chairman of its most powerful financial institution, the Royal Bank, on down. J. Page Wadsworth, chairman of the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce told the Sales and Marketing Executive of Toronto that the concern Trudeau has aroused "runs so deep it will not easily be dispelled. Indeed it is probably a situation where words alone cannot mend the damage already done to the central nervous system of the country."

E.G. Burton, president of the Board of Trade of Metropolitan Toronto, vice-president of Simpsons, and a head of Simpsons-Sears, has charged Trudeau with turning his anti-inflation program into a campaign "to further his own socialistic goals." In a subsequent address to a Board dinner, he urged Trudeau to "cease and desist in his public show or private intention to belittle our institutions."

Echoing and expanding on these statements are Gerald Baldwin, house leader of the Progressive Conservative party, heads of Chambers of Commerce across the country, and even some Liberal party constituency associations. Cabinet Ministers Lalonde, Gillespie, Lang, and others, have been appearing here there and everywhere across the country affirming that the Liberal Government, and Trudeau too, really are believers in the free enterprise system – the capitalist system.

It hardly seems credible, as some have suggested, that this is all much ado about nothing; that all Trudeau has been saying he has said before, or that all that is really involved is some kind of political maneuver: Trudeau is stealing the show from the Tories who are trying to get in the public limelight with their party leadership contest. He is trying to provoke the Tories to respond by swinging to the right and thus leave the centre ground to his party. Or, in the face of the rising PQ threat in Quebec and the surging union opposition to the so-called anti-inflation legislation, Trudeau is trying to appear even on the left flank of the NDP.

In order to understand this hullabaloo, it is first and foremost necessary to understand that the anti-inflation legislation initiated over last Thanksgiving is a complete fraud, that there is not the slightest possibility that the AIBs will stop the inflationary spiral that has been cutting into the living standards of the Canadian working people, particularly those on fixed incomes.

At the time it was announced, every economist of stature in the academic world gave it no credibility. Some 17 of them, and others, felt called upon to formally petition Trudeau to this effect and make it publicly known. R.M. Thomson, president of the Toronto-Dominion Bank, warned that it "is a popular misconception that... inflationary pressures will subside while wage and price controls are in place, but experience has shown that, to the contrary, controls are a cork in a fermenting bottle."

According to John Crispo, leading capitalist ideologue, former dean of the faculty of Management Studies, University of Toronto, "at best it will turn out to be a temporary palliative" because he said, it doesn't deal with the major causes, but only the symptoms. Gail Cook, director of research for the Canadian Economic Policy Committee of C.D. Howe Research Institute, warned that the program cannot succeed as a result of labor being singled out as the villain causing inflation, which, she emphasized, is "incorrect and counter-productive."

Why Trudeau steamrollered ahead can only be explained on other, on political grounds. Inflation has set off widespread dissatisfaction and pressures that action should be taken. Trudeau noted this in the opening of his first contentious speech. "People are wondering," he said, "who is in charge of the economy, who is in charge of the society, and they're concerned, they're worried, and they have cause to be, and it's my job as a politician to try and not only see where we've been, and where we're at, but where we're going..." All the more because of the crisis of leadership in his party, he took the plunge.

Faced with rising militancy and an increasing unity in the ranks of the trade union movement, Trudeau has been forced into active defence of his legislation. How to convince those who are the actual victims of inflation that they should accept their own increasingly intolerable victimization, that they should acquiesce, in the interests of the stabilization and the maintenance of a society which is itself responsible for their condition? A difficult task indeed. One rendered all the more difficult when the appeals to sacrifice and acceptance of austerity are made as taxpayers' funds are being squandered on milk and on eggs, not to be produced, and the energy resources of the country are being sold out to giant US corporations to gouge the American workers.

Trudeau, ex-radical, intellectual, university professor and small "l" liberal takes to TV. While he has just dismantled the last remnant of his promised "just society", he decides to ride that horse again – a new society which we will get to through adversity. Naturally the new society has to be made attractive, particularly to the workers. The only way is to present it with a certain anti-capitalist rhetoric. The wage controls – they are "really more than that." He presents them as "a massive intervention in the decision-making power of the economic groups, and its telling Canadians we haven't been able to make it work, the free market system."

"Some economists say all you've got to do is get back to the free

Continued on page 2

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

forward

(15) Vol. 2, No. 3 February 1976 Toronto 20 Cents

(15) Vol No 2 Feb 1976

Drop the charges, Free Morgentaler

By Harry Paine

"Why am I still in jail?" These were the words of Dr. Henry Morgentaler on hearing that the Quebec Superior Court had upheld his acquittal on the second charge against him of illegal abortion. Within 24 hours of the court's decision, an angry swell of people throughout the country began asking similar questions. He has now been released on bail. But why haven't the charges against him been dropped? Why isn't Morgentaler free?

Federal Justice Minister Ron Basford, who had been acting like King Canute trying to hold back the tide, suddenly discovered that an injustice had been done and ordered a new trial – a new trial on a charge for which Morgentaler had already been found not guilty by a jury of the people.

Public reaction to the government and court persecution of Morgentaler has already forced the government to concede an important guarantee of civil rights in the form of a proposed amendment to the criminal code, commonly and appropriately known as the Morgentaler Amendment. So angered were Canadians at the arrogant Superior Court reversal of a jury trial decision that the government was forced to introduce

→p2

...tion of Physicians of Quebec to ...end his medical license for a ...

...hat accounts for this continuing ...ssment of Morgentaler and ...istent violation of his elemen... rights? Morgentaler never hid ... he was doing, nor his view that ...ada's reactionary abortion laws ... to be changed to allow women ...ight to control their own bodies. ...esponse, the governments of ...bec and Canada went out to get ...man who openly defied the most ...essive of the laws directed ...nst women.

...e persecution of Morgentaler ... thus become interlocked with ...ttempt to turn back the growing ...ement for repeal of Canada's ...tion laws. The government has ...en itself willing to deny the ...f elementary forms of justice in ...r to maintain their anti-woman, ...-choice code.

...nd it is this that causes the *Globe* ...ret. They warn that Morgentaler ...ld become a "gold-starred ...tyr" and that continued perse... ...on could make the "public so ... and tired of the tyrannies visited ... one individual that it would ...pt any proposal on abortion in a ...tyr's name." From their own

Continued on page 2

Dr. Morgentaler calls for pardon after ten month unjust imprisonment.

this issue:

Behind BC NDP loss...p3

Military feast... p4

Corp. concentration... p4

Labor stands up to AIB, fights controls

Flash – On Mon... the Saskatchew... Labor organize... mobilization in... protesting the... Directed again... Liberal Govern... posed the freez... protest against t... government's a... freeze. The Man... convention on J... scene of a tense... Schreyer govern... the controls. A... opposed to the ... plans to sign a f... with Ottawa, ... support of NDP ... Broadbent, but ... vote of 238 to 16... olution giving ... sation of Schrey...

By Vic Hansen

Week by week ... Board continues ... ments and decisi... and negotiated ... labor movement ... ion, the real in...

Flash – On Monday, February 2, the Saskatchewan Federation of Labor organized the first mass mobilization in English Canada protesting the wage controls. Directed against the federal Liberal Government which imposed the freeze, it was also a protest against the Blakeney NDP government's adaptation to the freeze. The Manitoba NDP annual convention on January 31 was the scene of a tense struggle over the Schreyer government's stance on the controls. A bloc of delegates, opposed to the party leadership's plans to sign a formal agreement with Ottawa, had the vocal support of NDP federal leader Ed Broadbent, but were defeated by a vote of 238 to 165 on a saw-off resolution giving qualified endorsation of Schreyer's policies.

Morgentaler #15

Continued from page 1

an amendment that jury trials cannot be overturned. Yet Morgentaler, it appears, is to be the sole exception to the benefits of this amendment, which his torment did so much to achieve.

A *Globe and Mail* editorial on January 24, commenting on the Superior Court's decision, concluded: "That surely demands a pardon from the state, not a decision to drag the man through one more trial.

"Not statements from a former Quebec Minister of Justice promising that the state would prosecute until it did get a conviction on the man. Or the decision by the National Parole Board to keep him in custody for as long as it could. Or the decision by the Professional Corporation of Physicians of Quebec to suspend his medical license for a year."

What accounts for this continuing harassment of Morgentaler and consistent violation of his elementary rights? Morgentaler never hid what he was doing, nor his view that Canada's reactionary abortion laws had to be changed to allow women the right to control their own bodies. In response, the governments of Quebec and Canada went out to get this man who openly defied the most oppressive of the laws directed against women.

The persecution of Morgentaler has thus become interlocked with the attempt to turn back the growing movement for repeal of Canada's abortion laws. The government has proven itself willing to deny the most elementary forms of justice in order to maintain their anti-woman, anti-choice code.

And it is this that causes the *Globe* to fret. They warn that Morgentaler could become a "gold-starred martyr" and that continued persecution could make the "public so sick and tired of the tyrannies visited on one individual that it would accept any proposal on abortion in a martyr's name." From their own perverse perspective, they have seen how the battle has joined.

Continued on page 2

Upon release from jail Dr. Morgentaler stated: "So many injustices have piled up in my case that the people of Canada are indignant... Not only was I hoping for a pardon, I am convinced I deserve one. It is unfair to subject me to the stress of another trial."

Morgentaler is right. Canadians are indignant. A massive campaign is being launched to demand that government immediately grant Morgentaler an unconditional pardon, drop all charges against him, and provide full compensation for the time he spent in prison.

The Canadian Association for Repeal of the Abortion Laws has urged its membership to find whatever avenue they can to raise these demands. The International Committee for the Defence of Dr. Morgentaler has sent a telegram to the federal cabinet asking them to pardon him and drop all further charges.

To try this man again on a charge he has already been acquitted of would be monstrously inhuman and outright persecution. It is not just Morgentaler who is on trial. The women of Canada are also the defendants, charged with wanting the basic rights to control their own bodies and their own destiny.

The fight to free Dr. Morgentaler must now be escalated.

Next Year Country sued, needs public support

Next Year Country, the paper of the Saskatchewan Waffle, is facing a libel suit arising out of an article published a year ago about land development in Saskatoon.

The paper has emerged as a leading proponent of socialism in the prairie provinces, carrying the battle for an independent socialist Canada and fearlessly campaigning for a militant policy for the womens', student and labor movement.

The libel suit, launched by development companies, is clearly a political offensive to silence a significant voice for socialism. For this reason, it is important for all those concerned with freedom of expression to stand behind the editors of NYC in the suit. Contributions are urgently needed to help meet the costs of legal defence. We urge you to forward your cheques, made payable to NYC Defence Fund and send them to NYC, Box 3446, Regina.

forward #15 Feb 1976

Student rally fights cutbacks, fee hikes

By Doug Rollins

The student movement in Ontario took a leap forward in January as 2500 angry students from all over the province demonstrated against the McKeough-Henderson Report at Queens Park. The march and preceding rally, which were organized by the Ontario Federation of Students, were the largest such actions in recent history.

The students were particularly incensed at provisions in the McKeough-Henderson Report which stated that tuition fees were to be increased by 65% over the next three years while the grant portion of the Ontario Student Awards Program were to be phased out completely in the same period.

Just prior to the demonstration, the government put out a press release stating that fees would not rise in the next academic year but that the loan ceiling would increase by $200 next fall. This increase means that each student requiring government financial assistance would have to borrow $1000 before they received any grant whatsoever. Such a level of borrowing would leave a debt of $4000 for the poorest students, to be repaid at a 9% rate of interest.

University and Colleges Minister Parrot refused to guarantee the angry students either that fees would not rise drastically in future years or that the government did not intend to phase out grants. The assembly responded to Parrot's condescending platitudes, that he too was once a student and knew all about students' problems, by booing him off the stage. The Liberal education critic fared little better and was soon also cascaded with boos.

NDP spokesman James Renwick was applauded when he stated that the NDP was opposed to any further fee increases. Renwick, however, refused to endorse the NDP's program of free tuition and a living stipend for students, implying this demand was unrealistic and could be granted only after other more important social problems had been dealt with first. The tenor of Renwick's speech left many students feeling that the NDP offered only half-hearted support to their struggle to make access to post-secondary education the right of all, not only the sons and daughters of the rich.

Ryerson Polytechnical Institute President Walter Pitman, a former NDP MPP gave a harder hitting and more supportive speech than Renwick. Pitman pointed out that students must struggle not only against social service cutbacks affecting students, but against all cutbacks aimed at working people, persons on unemployment insurance and welfare, and other downtrodden and oppressed layers in society.

Pitman received very strong applause when he alluded to the new student movement that was developing in response to cutbacks in social services. It was made very clear to all assembled at the Convocation Hall rally that activists must not only organize the strength of students, faculty and support staff on the campuses, but must turn to the labor movement and other sectors of society hit hardest by the deepening economic crisis.

This rally and demonstration had originally been organized as a protest against the inadequacy of the Ontario Student Aid Program. But when the McKeough-Henderson Report was tabled in the legislature just before Christmas, students were faced with the need to organize a much broader and more significant action. The Ontario Federation of Students showed that it had finally come of age as a student leadership by taking full advantage of this opening.

The next step of the OFS must be to generalize the campaign across the province, perhaps by organizing a moratorium or a one-day strike at all universities and colleges in the province. Initiatives could also be taken toward organizing a common front with other sectors who are fighting the government cutbacks in social services. A logical step in this direction would be a series of regional conferences across the province and perhaps another province-wide demonstration in the early spring. This demonstration could aim to link up the student movement with the labor movement in a concrete fashion.

A final heartening development was the support strike called in the Maritimes by post-secondary students as a show of solidarity with their colleagues in Ontario. This development augurs well for the constitution of a student movement against cutbacks on a national basis.

Student leaders address the Forward Forum

Four leaders of the Ontario student movement shared the platform at a Forward Forum held in Toronto on January 23. The speakers were invited to assess the significance of the successful Ontario Federation of Students rally and demonstration at Queen's Park on January 21 against the Henderson-McKeough Report.

The panelists were Chris Harries, editor of the *Ontario Student*; Luc Aujame, president of the McMaster Graduate Student Union; John Bocker, member of the Brock Socialist Students' Coalition; and Dale Ritch, president of the York University student union, CYSF.

The lively and fraternal discussion focused on the role of the Common Front against the cutbacks both on and off campus, and on the need to develop coalitions of socialist student activists across the province.

FORWARD FORUM

INTERNATIONAL UNIONS and THE CANADIAN LEFT

A MARXIST ANALYSIS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF TRADE UNIONS IN CANADA

speaker Norman Penner

Political Science professor, Marxist scholar, former activist in the labor movement, and editor of the book Winnipeg, 1919, the strikers' own history of the Winnipeg General Strike.

fri. march 19th

room n204 8pm

252 bloor st w

(Bloor & St. George)

FORWARD FORUMS are held regularly every Friday night at 53 GERRARD ST. WEST (at Bay St.) Phone: 595-1284 for information.

- Fri. March 26: SHOULD THE NDP VOTE AGAINST THE MILITARY BUDGET? Speaker: Harry Paine
- Fri. April 2: WOMEN IN THE WORKFORCE - SHOULD THEY ORGANIZE SEPARATE UNIONS? Speaker: Judy Brooke
- Fri. April 9: WHITHER SPAIN? Speaker: Dale Ritch

Labor defies wage freeze

forward
PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

CLC leaders call for March 22 mass mobilization in Ottawa

By the Editors

The mighty forces of organized labor are beginning to move into action against the wage freeze engineered by the federal government and which various provincial governments have opted into.

Contrary to Big Business and government anticipation that labor's opposition would dissipate, its voice has become increasingly more militant.

Although opposing the government act from the very beginning the labor leadership has been provoked by a whole rash of Anti-Inflation Board rulings that are obvious and totally shameless in their class bias.

On the one hand, while the Board has all along refused to do anything about prices that are continuing to rise, it has now dropped its previously declared plans to limit profits made by business through sales on the world market. Ironically, one of the key arguments used to justify the wage freeze is that wages being paid Canadian workers are pricing Canadian goods out of the export market. But on February 27 the government acquiesced to Big Business pressure by dumping its planned profit controlling export tax. The release of AIB guidelines for the banks was greeted by Bay Street's *Financial Post* on February 28, with the words: "As bank stock prices rose early this week it seemed as though the market was heaving a sigh of relief. Much of the uncertainty about bank guidelines was over and the price-profit rules would be less restrictive than some had feared."

On the other hand the board has ordered one after another rollback of wage settlements won by labor in its attempt to catch up with inflation.

With the AIB administrator's instruction to Irving Pulp and Paper to roll its 23.8 percent settlement with the Canadian Paperworkers Union back under the 14 percent ceiling, Steelworkers director Bill Mahoney denounced it "as a declaration of war on the trade union movement," as, "all out confrontation."

"If our 180,000 members don't want fascism to take over," he declared, "they're going to have to confront Trudeau. We may have to shut some industries down," he warned.

"I don't like political strikes, I've never liked them," he said, "but Trudeau may find out that he can't run the country without steelworkers and miners and I am saying this after considered judgement of the situation. If they (the government) want confrontation they can have it."

Such words have been echoed and amplified by dozens of trade union leaders at conventions, seminars and public meetings across the country. CPU leader and executive Vice-president Julien Major, addressing the annual Western region convention of the International Woodworkers, urged all locals to refuse to sign any agreement that contains a clause requiring that the contract be subject to approval or review of the AIB, that all agreements should require the employer to commit himself to support all provisions and that he agree to implement the agreement immediately, including those sections which he believes, or the AIB rules, exceed the guidelines.

In a speech in London where she demanded the government withdraw the legislation in its entirety CLC executive vice president Shirley Carr noted that "for all intents and purposes unions no longer have the right to bargain collectively." She denounced the situation whereby the interests of corporate power have become identified by the government (allegedly the expression of public will) as the national interest. "The public will and the corporate will have merged to establish the preconditions of the corporate state," she warned.

Faced by an AIB order to roll back a wage increase won after a 20 day strike by its 400 members at the

Continued on page 2

Program for labor action against freeze

- **For the establishment of a CLC anti-wage freeze fund that will be made available to union locals which are without sufficient physical and financial resources to hold out against employers who, hiding behind the AIB guidelines, are resisting labor's legitimate wage demands.**
- **On to the CLC convention at Quebec City, and the working out of a strategy of escalating and widening actions by united labor, including the CNTU and the provincial teachers' organizations, to roll back and smash the wage freeze.**
- **For the establishment of consumers, trade union and farm organizations committees on prices. Survey prices, expose their manipulation and fraud. Open the books of the giant food chains whose monopolistic practices even the government's own Food Prices Review Board concedes are forcing consumers to pay four percent too much for food.**
- **Fight Ottawa's projected hoist of the price of Canadian oil and gasoline into line with the world price established against the peoples of the world by the profit-gorged international oil cartel. For public ownership of Canadian oil resources and development facilities and the production and distribution of oil and gas at cost.**
- **For a massive campaign to popularize and win the public ownership and control of all banks and credit institutions in the country. The built-in, planned and permanent inflation now confronting us is designed by the capitalists and their advisors to preserve their profits and impose the cost of the developing crisis of their bankrupt system on the backs of the working people. The public ownership and control of the banks and credit institutions is a necessary condition towards the organization and planning of the economy so that it serves not the privileges of a few but the interests of the overwhelming majority of the people.**
- **Initiate, build and support coalitions to fight against the massive assault, promoted by the federal government through the AIB and now taking place from all levels of government, on such hard won social services as education grants, unemployment insurance, medical and hospital services, day care, welfare, etc. If there are to be cutbacks let them be against the continually mounting federal budgetary expenditures on armed forces and military hardware, on the RCMP, and such undemocratic institutions as the Senate.**

Opposition mounts to the gov't cutbacks

By Bob Peel

The headlines in the press and the news on the air in Ontario, for the past month have one main theme, Cutbacks! Provincial municipal grants to be reduced! Ten hospitals to be closed! Subsidies for day care to be cut! Grants to higher education to be reduced! Hospital services to be drastically reduced!

And flowing from the above — nurses and nurse aids, orderlies and maintenance staff, doctors and technicians to be laid off in the thousands. Municipal rates are to be increased along with school taxes. Bus and subway fares have been raised 20 per cent. Student fees are to be increased. University staff are to be laid off. Municipal employees find their jobs threatened. Welfare recipients are to be harassed into taking sub-standard jobs at sub-standard wages.

The Tory government of the province of Ontario, which has been in power for the last 30 years, has suddenly decided that it must try to bring in a balanced budget. Encouraged by the atmosphere of "restraint" to fight inflation created by the Liberals in Ottawa, the Tories believe that the mood of the electorate is in favor of harsh measures against the poorest and weakest sections of the working class. Thus, both parties of business work together to foist the cost of the recession onto the shoulders of those least able to pay for it.

The question for the working class is how can these cutbacks be fought. A few days ago, a number of tenured U of T professors made public an offer that they forego a salary increase in order to allow the university to keep a number of maintenance staff from being laid off. This was a noble gesture on their part but completely inadequate to fight the cutbacks.

On Tues. Feb. 24th, about 500 people assembled at the Toronto City Hall to protest the 20 percent increase in public transit fares. A beginning has been made in the organization of an anti-cutback coalition which is planning a number of demonstrations. Unfortunately while it is endorsed by the Toronto Labor Council, not enough unions have as yet joined in nor has the NDP become activated in the struggle.

The fight against the cutbacks must be a united fight of all labor on all levels, by petitions, demonstrations, mass meetings and in parliament. The New Democratic Party must vote against the Tory austerity budget on April 15 and try to bring down the government.

The workers in the ten hospitals slated for closure should organize now to prepare for taking over and operating these hospitals.

CLC's Morris hits Schreyer betrayal

By G. Deutsch

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In what must

By G. Deutsch

At a time when organized labor is fighting one of its most significant battles to defend collective bargaining rights and the workers' standard of living, it has been dealt a treacherous stab in the back.

In what must surely rank as a colossal betrayal of principle, Manitoba's Premier Schreyer, lending his prestige as a prominent leader in Canada's labor party, the NDP, aligned himself "almost entirely" with Trudeau's justification for the wage freeze.

→p2

In this issue:

PM's score: Time out
Digest in
History of NDP left
New turn in French Cl

Build NDP left

In an amazing display of uninhibited opportunism, Schreyer announced that Canada needs an "all-out effort akin to the spirit displayed in the Second World War" to avoid economic and social disaster within ten years. Echoing Trudeau's prattle about working for a "new society", Schreyer said society must be prepared to live with permanent restraints. "We must change our lifestyle," he said, complaining about the futility of trying to simultaneously maintain consumerism, social services, and full employment (i.e. workers' desires for a high standard of life in this fantastically wealthy Canada). Moreover, he saw the solution to developing renewable sources of energy not by taxing the corporate profiteers who have bled Canada's resources, not by taking over those resources through government ownership, but instead implied that "the public" should accept "in good grace, without riots" a doubling of certain costs to the household budget.

These are not words or a trial balloon on Schreyer's part. He has already signed an agreement with the federal government giving the anti-inflation board's grim reapers the go-ahead on public employees in the province of Manitoba.

The Blakeney leadership of the governing Saskatchewan NDP have also come dangerously close to accepting the federal "anti-inflation" program as well.

Canadian Labor Congress president Joe Morris publicly warned the NDP governments to re-think their support for wage control policies or face the opposition of the labor movement "from which they sprang". "There is no middle ground on which to fight," he declared, "for in this battle there can be no compromise. Our opposition is total and complete and we will not back off." Emphasizing that the NDP governments either stand with "the working people who support them, or side with the corporations and the monied interests," he concluded: "For both our sakes, let's hope they choose wisely, for the route they choose to travel is likely to affect the future of political institutions in Canada for many years to come."

Morris is dead on in his criticisms; of this there can be no doubt. But let us not forget the record of Morris and the whole labor leadership. For the truth of the matter is that the Morris labor leadership together with the Lewises and other NDP leaders constructed and built up the Schreyers and Blakeneys and their pragmatic, right-wing policies against union militants and left-wingers in the party. It is they who lined up the party and the union rank-and-file in vicious vendetta campaigns against the left in the party. It is they who hounded the Waffle and previous socialist caucuses out of the party in Ontario and consistently opposed or ignored

CLC President Joe Morris denounces Manitoba and Saskatchewan NDP government leaders for compromising on federal guidelines.

left policies. It is they who have failed to build an active union rank-and-file participation in the life of the NDP, instead, treating party conventions as bureaucratic operations designed to stifle real debate and democratic discussions.

Now that the labor movement's back is to the wall, Morris is forced to take on Schreyer and Blakeney. But there is no fundamental difference between Morris and them. The politics of both are liberal-reformist. Morris' criticism of the NDP leadership is correct as far as it goes, in its narrow pragmatic self-defence. But it is purely negative: it threatens the party without offering an alternative solution to the right-wing NDP leadership. It is of little use for Morris to threaten the party; he has yet to make a criticism of Schreyer and his ilk in a consistent, political way (the way socialists in the party have been doing for years). To do that, Morris would have to repudiate the conservative business unionism that is his own trademark and have an alternative program.

When left-wingers in the party, like the Waffle and the Socialist Caucus, tried to challenge the NDP top brass with a principled socialist program, the Morrises launched savage campaigns to protect the brass. They mobilized the ranks of the party and union militants and made them tools to drown out the opposition and hound them out of the party.

Since the Waffle experience the left has been fragmented and hesitant to structure itself into a caucus again. Yet its voice has been raised in 1975 with the appearance of the Socialist Manifestoes in the provincial conventions of the party in Ontario and British Columbia. And the left even took on a temporary organizational form with the support campaign for Rosemary Brown in the federal leadership contest. Brown's narrow defeat by the Morris-type candidate Ed Broadbent inspired socialist activists around Hilda Thomas in Vancouver to send out an appeal to the socialists across the country in the party to form an ongoing caucus.

Morris' criticisms open a new opportunity and challenge. Many of the union militants who had been used by him before must be questioning their previous role. The clear challenge is for the socialist activists and these militants to fuse into a unified caucus to take over the party with a new leadership and a socialist program. This challenge applies also to Wafflers who left the party in disgust. The door has been opened. Only the socialist party members and rank-and-file militants are capable of providing a real alternative. The Morrises are part of the problem, a socialist caucus is part of the solution.

forward #16 Mar 1976

From formative days of party

Left caucus vital to NDP

By Alice Klein

In 1958, the leadership of the just-united Canadian Labor Congress and the officers of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (CCF – forerunner of the NDP) jointly issued a call for a "new party", a call which led to the birth of the New Democratic Party.

Workers, forced to find a political vehicle to defend themselves against an all-out legislative attack against their right to organize to protect themselves from the ravages of the recession, formed a new base for the movement for a pro-labor party, which would contest against the capitalist parties who dominated public office at all levels.

The NDP, formed at a massive convention in Ottawa in 1961, represented a merging of two impulses. The old CCF leadership saw to strengthen its electoral base through the support of the CLC labor leadership. The CLC leaders saw the new party as a means of forging an organization to put electoral pressure on the Liberals and Tories to get anti-labor legislation withdrawn. But significantly, the NDP also represented a *movement* of the labor rank and file seeking a means to defend themselves politically, joined by youth radicalizing by the ban-the-bomb movement, the Cuban revolution and the end of the cold war.

It was no surprise that the key debate dominating the convention was what this "new party" would be. Elements of the CCF leadership supported the formation of a new small "l" liberal party — an electoral machine to pressure for more progressive policies than the other capitalist parties. But the strength of the new workers and youth radicalizations revealed itself in the sense of a socialist movement at the founding convention, thus pushing the new party in another direction. Though saddled from the very first with the electoralism of the CCF parliamentarians and the CLC brass, the new party emerged a labor party – built on the base of the organized labor movement and pledged, in theory at least, to defend it.

The party's decision on Canada's NATO membership demonstrated the extent to which the leadership of the new party was determined to hold the rank and file in tow and avoid serious political debate. 22 of the 24 resolutions submitted to the convention called for immediate withdrawal of Canada from NATO (the position adopted by the CCF convention only one year earlier). Yet this position was scuttled when the newly elected leader, T.C. Douglas threatened the convention with his resignation should the convention adopt the anti-NATO position. "After all," he said, "It is I who will have to explain the policy." This was nothing short of blackmail and therefore only a pyrrhic victory for the brass.

A long way from the militant punch of the Regina Manifesto, the phraseology of the preamble to the program of the NDP carefully avoided identification with the struggles of the working class and a commitment to public ownership and a planned economy. Rather it used non-class allusions to putting "human rights and human dignity above the mere pursuit of wealth..." Summing up the sentiment of the new party's reluctance to identify with the socialist aim of its predecessor the CCF, Steelworkers leader William Sefton paraphrased a famous statement of William Lyon Mackenzie – "We too are for socialism, if necessary, but not necessarily for socialism."

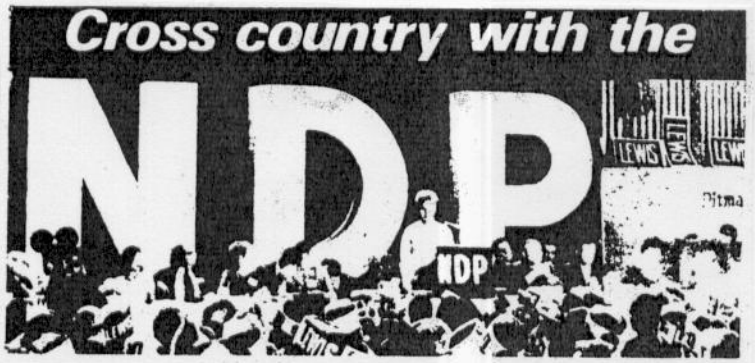
Because the party emerged with an entrenched leadership able to ignore or stifle policies supported by the majority of its base, the need for a left wing organized to force the leadership to express the will of the party's base was knitted into the very fabric of the NDP. And throughout the history of the NDP there have always been forces which have struggled to form precisely such a left wing. This left wing originated from those who had previously fought for the establishment of the NDP as a party of labor to defend workers' interests.

The response of the leadership has invariably been not to debate the policies put forward by the socialists but instead to attempt to discredit the left by red-baiting dissidents of all varieties.

So anxious to present a lily-white "image" to the population, the Quebec NDP central office revealed a contemptible and unprincipled ruthlessness when it opened its membership lists to the RCMP for examination in 1962. Ironically, by reflexively carrying on the cold-war phrasemongering to make itself popular, the NDP leadership succeeded only in blurring the distinction between the NDP and the capitalist parties. By this opportunism coupled with a failure to fight openly for the interests of its working-class base, the NDP gained only 13.9% of the popular vote in the 1962 federal elections – only 2% more than that

→p.2

Ontario NDP leader Stephen Lewis joins pickets in front of imperilled hospital in Willett. Widespread opposition to the closure of this key community facility by the Tory government poses the possibility of its continued operations under community control.



Van NDP plans city slate

An enthusiastic meeting of 350 attended the annual meeting of the NDP Vancouver Area Council. One of the highpoints of the conference was the decision to mount a full NDP slate for the forthcoming municipal elections.

Several forces are trying to weaken this resolve however. The "progressive" municipally oriented COPE elements are resisting the shift, which would of course spell doom for their own non-class politics under the hegemony of the Communist Party. The Vancouver Labor Council is at best abstaining from a resolution of the problem, calling on both the area council and COPE to dissolve so that there might be unity!

The Vancouver Area council remains firm however. "We believe that labor or the so-called left can only have long term success with a political party", council spokesman Jim Lemaistre argued, pointing out that other groupings would only bring short term successes. He is not opposed to unity, opening the possibility of people running on the NDP slate if they agreed with the policy.

New activist elements hold out the promise that the VAC will withstand the attempts of the right to disrupt and scuttle it. Longstanding left-winger and women's spokesperson Hilda Thomas was elected as president of the body.

The VAC faces an uncertain but exciting future as it moves to refine and develop its program and perspective. It deserves the support and contribution of all socialists.

'Viewsletter' underway

There is very little discussion of party policy in the NDP, even at convention time. Important policy matters are often given short shrift in the jammed convention schedule. In general party policy is handed down to the party membership, primarily through reports of the views expressed by MP's and MLAers in parliamentary debate. The party papers, aside from the Saskatchewan Commonwealth, which reflects the mass base of the party there, are largely house organs.

This problem was expressed by the editors of the *Vancouver Democrat* in the December and January issues which took up the question why the BC party failed to widen its electoral base between its election into office in 1972 and its defeat at the hands of a Liberal-Tory-Social Credit coalition this last December. In the conclusion of their contribution which was extensively covered in the last issue of *Forward*, they challenge that the "NDP must re-open the debate on whether or not it is going to be simply an electoral party".

They point out that not only did the leadership violate or ignore established party policy but conceived of the party as an electoral machine. The NDP government, they say, "did not count on the party membership and allies of the party to go out and explain our party policy and actively confront the corporations."

We do not know whether the federal office is taking some of the BC NDP criticism to heart or whether it is concerned with the broadening impact of such journals as *Next Year Country, Canadian Dimension, Forward*, etc. But it is good to report that the federal office has just announced that it is launching a 12 page monthly called *Viewsletter*. Aiming for a subscription base of approximately 3600 subscribers in the first year, *Viewsletter* describes itself as "a platform for free expression of opinion that allows people from all over the country, in either official language, from any vantage point on the political spectrum to analyze, criticize and eulogize... public policy."

If *Viewsletter* only comes close to the aim that has been set it will play an important role in raising the political level of the party.

The subscription rate is $10 for 12 months. It should be sent to *Viewsletter*, 301 Metcalfe Street, Ottawa, Ontario K2P 1R9.

Left caucus vital

p. 2

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Blind to the lessons of this experience and hostile to the growing radicalization around anti-nuclear bomb and pro-colonial revolution issues, the leadership continued the witchhunt within the party. In 1963, the process which had been taking place across the country came to a head with the expulsion of over a dozen leading activists in the youth wing of the party – the New Democratic Youth (NDY) – on the charge of "membership in the support of another political party". This was to squelch the more open and dynamic socialist currents who were able to win over activists with their ideas which ran counter to the top brass. Eventually, the NDY as an organization was emasculated and abolished by the brass.

Much to the dissatisfaction of the NDP brass, neither the red-baiting atmosphere nor the expulsions succeeded in driving the troublesome left out of the party. Rather, by the 1963 convention, left-wingers from various parts of the country were able to organize and present a manifesto to the delegates. The Socialist Caucus Manifesto, basing itself on the developing radicalization and the growing crisis of the capitalist system, argued for a party with a socialist objective and presented proposals for withdrawal from NATO and NORAD, recognition of Cuba, and the "socialization of all foreign-owned industries... nationalization of all financial institutions, including insurance."

By 1965, the year of the third NDP Convention, the times indeed were "a-changin". In Toronto, mass extended actions took place in solidarity with the black civil rights movement south of the border. Opposition to the war in Vietnam and Canada's complicity had started to spread across the country. It was this convention which saw the appearance of an open Socialist Caucus which presented a slate of candidates for the federal council. And when a caucus supporter announced on the convention floor a demonstration against US aggression in Vietnam, scores of delegates adjourned to a rally on the steps of the US Consulate.

While the expulsions continued, the new radicalization nevertheless was hitting the ever resisting party leadership with continued force. By the 1967 Ontario Provincial Convention the Socialist Caucus was able to claim the adherence of 100 delegates and to win the convention to actively advancing a policy of US troop withdrawal in Vietnam and ending Canadian complicity as well as committing the NDP to public ownership of natural resources. With the strength of the left of the party decisively on the upswing, the NDP leadership shifted their language to meet the new mood, while remaining aloof from active extra-parliamentary action.

In 1969, what came to be known as the Waffle emerged onto the scene with a force which the party leadership was unable to ignore. This development will be the subject of the next article.

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From formative day of party

By Alice Klein
(from Forward March 1976)

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forward #16 Mar 1976

Women unionists plan action conferences

By Ellie Kirzner

March, the month of International Women's Day, will see two conferences of working women, both expressing the urgency of a response to women's deteriorating position in the work world.

The first, organized by the Canadian Labor Congress, brings women from affiliated unions together in Ottawa and is obviously structured to be more than an idea-swapping affair.

Besides panel discussions on collective bargaining, affirmative action, women and the law, and organizing women's committees, a policy session will review existing CLC positions focusing on gaps and necessary revisions. As well, workshops are being asked to centre resolutions on "action to be taken." A final plenary will debate resolutions and formulate a Policy Statement.

The second conference, sponsored by the Toronto Labor Council and organized by a committee of trade-union women arising from a conference last May, is dedicated both to the "problem of organizing the unorganized" and to the fight to "better the lot of those already organized."

The steering committee, wishing to ensure that the meeting be rooted in the mainstream of the labor movement, has structured the conference so that it is a delegated one and have sent letters to all Toronto locals asking for representatives. Workshops will be held on a wide range of topics, and policy papers are being presented on the themes, Strategies for Action, Why Organize Woman and Organizing the Unorganized.

What distinguishes this conference from the many others is its commitment to establish an ongoing organization. A draft for a constitution is being presented by the steering committee and a large space on the agenda is being set aside for its adoption and for the election of officers.

A more timely moment for the formation of a women's trade union organization could scarcely be found, for, accompanying the victimization of Canada's workers in general under wage controls, is the double whammy meted out to women. Always paid less than men, always locked into the service and clerical sector, always underorganized compared to male workers, working women in the last few years have experienced an intensified worsening of their position. Between 1965 and 1973, the gap between men's and women's wages increased from $2,694 to $4,719. As well, the concentration of women in the low-paying service and clerical sectors has grown from 45.2% in the service area in 1971 to 51.4% in 1974. In clerical work, they increased from 68.4% to 72.9%.

It is clear that the traditional methods of the trade union movement have not kept pace with what women are now coming to realize are their rights.

The case is most evident in the equal pay issue where the union movement has in general tolerated employers' flagrant wage discrimination.

In this context, a new organization of working women which could function as a caucus within the labor movement would infuse existing trade union practices with a new seriousness towards the issues of women.

forward #16 Mar 1976

Morgentaler actions set stage for repeal

by Harry Paine

The fight to free Dr. Morgentaler and to win freedom of choice for women was given a new boost on February 9 and 10 at the convention, in Ottawa, of the Canadian Association for Repeal of the Abortion Laws.

One hundred and twenty-five delegates came from all parts of the country representing many new chapters and over fifty affiliated organizations. New dynamism and growth was reflected in the reports given by activists from Victoria to St. Johns.

The keynote address was given by Laura Sabia who traced the roots of the oppression of women by the state and the church throughout history. Most significant though, was her report on recent developments in Quebec. The 130,000 strong Quebec Women's Federation asked the federal government to remove abortion from the criminal code. Added to that was a poll conducted by the Centre de Recherche sur l'Opinion Publique that found 56.6% of Quebecois felt that only a woman and her doctor should decide on the abortion question.

Contrary to the image perpetrated by MPs that Quebec is a bastion of anti choice bigotry, Quebec is in the lead of a developing mass movement against restrictive abortion laws. 314 doctors signed a statement swearing they have counselled or committed illegal abortions, and 300,000 petitions for the release of Morgentaler have been signed.

Dominating the convention was the presence of Henry Morgentaler whose freedom from prison, though limited, was seen as a great victory. He was given a long standing ovation by the delegates when he declared that he was not prepared to give up the struggle, nor be intimidated in his belief that freedom of choice was the cornerstone of women's total liberation in this country.

The second day of the convention was spent lobbying various members of parliament. With the exception of the NDP members, we found very few who were in any way aware of the most basic facts on the legality and availability of abortion in Canada. It was, as they put it, very low on their priority list. The NDP caucus leaders met with the CARAL leadership and gave them much helpful advice on their campaign but they were also honest and made it clear that it was very necessary to keep up the pressure.

In general the delegates left Ottawa feeling very positive. CARAL is definitely the organization that can accomplish its goals. Now the task is to reach out to the thousands of Canadians that have not yet found the means to express their will to change a law that is inequitable and unworkable. This year is the year to do just that. This point was especially brought home by the possibility held out by Attorney-general Basford that a government committee investigating inequalities in the present abortion laws will be taken seriously. Certainly this is the time for a stepped-up campaign for action.

Already two giant strides have been taken in this direction. The usually staid and conservative Canadian Civil Liberties Association under the urging of Pierre Berton passed a motion to play a leading role in the defence of Dr. Morgentaler. This was in response to the Quebec court's imposing bail conditions on Morgentaler that stop him from speaking either publicly or privately on the issue of abortion.

This is transparently a violation of his civil rights, as he is yet still not guilty of any charges that have been laid against him. It is obvious that the authorities consider Morgentaler the most dangerous opponent to their anti-women policies and someone who must be silenced at any cost.

While it may be possible to silence one man temporarily it is impossible to silence an idea. That was very much evidenced by the more than 400 people who paid $25 a plate to pack the Sai Woo restaurant in Toronto on February 26. They came as Charles Templeton well-known commentator and author, said, from the head table, to show their love for this man and all that he represented.

Clayton Ruby, one of the sponsors of the dinner commenting on Morgentaler's gagging by the courts assured the diners that "Morgentaler will get back his right to speak on abortion. All of us who believe in the right to choose must do so for him. I urge all of you to keep doing so."

Dr. Henry Morgentaler with supporters who greeted him with a fund raising dinner in Toronto. Later, 600 heard him speak at York University.

forward #16 Mar 1976

Natives counter pillage of North

The Trudeau government's petroleum policy is a cruel deception against the needs and interests of Canada's northern native peoples and the Canadian people as a whole whose taxes and forebearance in paying ever escalating fuel costs permits the giant imperialist oil monopolies to swell their already bloated profits. The Liberal government's coverup for continually raising oil and gas prices under the guise of energy shortage is as slick and sticky as the black fluid massively pumped out of the veins of Canada's limited resource lands.

However, even Ontario's Energy Minister Dennis Timbrell, was moved by the deadly economics of granting the oil barons a $2 a barrel increase in crude prices -- it would cost Canadian consumers $1.8 billion a year, Ontario workers 13,000 fewer jobs, and would raise the price of gasoline at the pump by seven cents a gallon — to accuse Trudeau of turning Canada into a "happy hunting ground" for international monopolies and cartels.

The energy shortage is widely challenged. For example, syndicated journalist Charles Lynch uses information supplied directly from the Trudeau pipeline to challenge the necessity of severe energy cutbacks, price rises, and more incentives for petroleum exploration. Lynch reports that Venezuela desperately wants to sell oil to Canada on a big scale, that production has been cut back from the Lloydminster Alta. oil fields because of low demand, that the number of oil rigs exploring for new oil in Alta. has risen by 50% in recent months thus increasing the prospect of increasing proven reserves not to mention those in the Arctic -- and that despite all this the government says its our patriotic duty to cut back consumption.

The government's ruthless drive to open up the north and construct a pipeline to transport gas and oil to US markets via the Mackenzie Valley route is most clearly exposed in its complicity in the destruction of the environment and the lives and livelihood of the native peoples. For example, the National Energy Board tried to suppress a consultant's report on leakage faults in existing pipelines. Through the Department of Northern and Indian Affairs, the question of offshore drilling has been removed from the Berger Commission Inquiry into the Mackenzie Valley pipeline. Prominent environmentalists have pointed out the catastrophic effects of oil blowouts and leakages that could take years to clean up and that the artificial islands created for offshore drilling could permanently destroy wildlife survival patterns.

The effects of resource extraction in the north have been seen in terms of destroying the primitive culture of hunting and fishing of the Innuit and Indians without respecting the dignity and social needs of these people. No wonder that the northern homeland suffers drunkenness, demoralization, breaking up of families, and continual humiliation for the native peoples.

But the Innuit have begun to fight back. The Innuit of the Northwest Territories are proposing the creation of a newly defined federal territory called Nanavut (Our Land) consisting of 1.5 million square miles in and around the Northwest Territories, the Yukon, and Alaska. Their aim is to drive for provincial status, with control established through the Innuit Development Corp.

The Innuit also propose that they receive a three percent share or "royalty" of all revenue from development of non-renewable resources in Nanavut as part of the land-claim settlement. This would give them considerably more than the traditional cash settlements hornswoggled out of other native groups by the government-big business gangups.

These proposals will be of great benefit not only to the native peoples but to the future of all Canadian working people in preserving a viable economic future against the rapacity of the greedy profit-gougers and their cohorts in the government. In addition, the solution lies in opening the books of the corporations to give a public accounting of their real profits and to discover what the real situation is in terms of shortages. But nothing short of public ownership of all resource extraction industries planned under the control of workers and native peoples will allow for real security for Canada's future as a prosperous country for all.

forward #16 Mar 1976

Union autonomy struggle broadens

By Jim Chapin

"Unless international unions in Canada can make some fairly drastic accommodations and adjustments to the needs of the current emotions that exist in this country then the role of the international unions is in serious jeopardy. Indeed their very survival as an effective entity is in serious jeopardy." These prophetic warnings made a few years ago by Dennis McDermott Canadian Director of the United Autoworkers are becoming true.

The continued lack of democracy in many international unions is deepening a nationalist sentiment among Canadian workers and thereby widening their struggle for union autonomy.

Reflective of this developing nationalism is the change in policy in the large building trades locals. Under the leadership of the building trades' "roadmen" — a name given to the internationally appointed union officials — in 1974, the building trades threatened to withhold funds from the CLC if it went ahead with plans to enforce guidelines for autonomy in Canadian branches of the international local. Now, less than two years later, in defiance of the wishes of the "roadmen", the elected officials of the building trades locals, are making a concerted effort to have the right to make autonomous decisions. To this end, despite the attempts of the "roadmen" to torpedo it, the elected local leaders recently held a conference in Winnipeg in order to set up a Canadian Council which would democratically make the decisions concerning the interests of Canadian workers. In response, the parent body, the AFL-CIO building trades department, after consultation with only the "roadmen", has set up a committee of five international presidents to deal with the conflict. Undoubtedly their efforts to maintain a tight grip on the Canadian section will only intensify the opposition to the international.

The tensions created by a move for Canadian autonomy in the International Chemical Workers Union led to the firing of six of the Canadian staff of the union including the Canadian director, Bob Stewart. In reaction, Stewart and others started their own Canadian Chemical Workers Union and are reported to have won 3,500 members from the ICW. Their organization is being aided by a $100,000 fund from the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers — a relatively democratic and autonomous international union. Stewart is projecting that in about two years 10,000 of the original 15,000 members will have switched membership. The plan is then to have a merger with the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers.

The Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks (BRAC) finalized their move to autonomous status by establishing their own Canadian council. This may be just the beginning of a wider drive to embrace the 13 other international railway unions into one union. BRAC's national president W.C.Y. McGregor commented, "we have too many organizations for our membership of 100,000... The move to Canadian mergers is just a matter of time."

The nationalist struggle for independent and autonomous unions is a key component of the fight for democracy. Besides challenging the power of the international union brass, this struggle will undoubtedly put tremendous pressure on the brass of the CLC who pay homage to the wishes of the international unions who represent 43% of its membership. The CLC brass will more and more be faced with the stark reality of enraged unionists who will demand autonomy as long as the American labor bureaucrats try to deny their democratic aspirations.

FORWARD FORUM

International Unions and the Canadian Left

a Marxist analysis of the development of trade unions in Canada.

speaker: **Norman Penner**
lecturer in political science at Glendon College, University of Toronto, editor of the book *Winnipeg, 1919*, the strikers' own history of the Winnipeg General Strike.

Friday March 19
52 Bloor St., W. Room n204
for further information on the Forward Forums, regularly held every Friday night at 53 Gerrard St., W., phone 595-1284

Warns Gov't against nationalism

By Paul Kane

The Senate, where the sober second thinking in the Canadian capitalist state apparatus is said to take place, has just come up with some thoughts on the question of Canada-US relations.

In a special 90 page report the Senate's foreign affairs committee urges the federal government to keep its cool in the face of both the many provocations by uninhibited US businessmen and statesmen, and the mounting pressure across the country that actions be taken in defence of Canadian sovereignty and against the continuing US corporate takeover of the economy.

"There should be a continual awareness" it warns the Canadian government "of the danger of an over-response to nationalist sentiment in decision-making." Without suggesting just when or where, Ottawa, notorious for its prostration before Washington, has tended to over re-act, it urges it to "ensure that (talks between the two countries) are handled in as balanced and mature a fashion as possible."

The problem, according to the Senate, is one of communications – there is an information gap from the Canadian side. According to the Senate's way of thinking this is because we don't spend enough money to put US statesmen and business heads into the picture – only ten cents per capita compared to a West European equivalent of 63 cents.

The Senators failed to recommend how much more money should be raised and where it should be spent to make US government and corporate heads aware of the Canadian fact. Perhaps it's because US marketing and investment circles, with all their specialists and computers, already know all they want to know about their biggest export and import market and the area of their greatest capital investment.

The recent hearings held by the US ten-man congressional sub committee on Inter American Relationships, specifically designed to hear about Canada's nationalism debate, were eloquent testimony. The first day saw only the committee's chairman in attendance – the second day's hearing was postponed because of the committee's unavailability. Among the special invitees at $35 a day was University of Windsor professor Alex Murray who presented charts to show a falling off of Canadian popular concern and who with a smile told the committee that "Our surveys show that the strongest Canadian nationalist is a single female, under 25, living in BC who votes NDP."

A tiny outburst took place when John Petty, a NY investment broker, formerly assistant secretary of the treasury for international affairs between 1966-72 said "Canada has 75% of the world's water and we're going to need it someday." But chairman Long soothed things over "It's an educational process. We've got to deal with those problems before they reach crisis proportions."

This should end all talk about abolition of the Senate, curb complaints about the cost and usefulness of sending 24 senators and MPs to Florida every year to talk things over with their US counterparts in the Canadian-US Inter-Parliamentary Association, and win solid support, while we all pull in our belts, for President of Treasury Chretien's new budgetary increase to the Senate.

forward #16 Mar 1976

Angolese victory finds Canadian left confounded

By Murray Dowson

The Canadian government has recognized the MPLA government of Angola. They followed France and most of the Western European governments who had understood, by the middle of February, that the Movement of the People for Liberation of Angola was the victor in the civil war.

The forces of imperialism, neo-colonialism and South African racism have been dealt severe blows. The murderous settler regime in Rhodesia is now in a precarious position. The prestige of the neo-colonialist governments of Zaire and Zambia has fallen to a new low. The liberation of Angola from 400 years of colonialism opens the way to the liberation of Namibia from the clutches of the South African apartheid exploiters. The long struggle for freedom from colonial oppression in Central and Southern Africa has taken a giant step forward.

Every class conscious Canadian worker, every socialist takes pleasure and pride in the MPLA victory. The material aid, the military hardware, supplied by the Soviet Union was a substantial contribution to the MPLA. Even more important were the thousands of Cuban volunteers who helped train the MPLA forces and fought side by side with them.

Therefore it was disappointing to observe both the Hamilton and Toronto Labor Councils adopt resolutions on Angola which in essence play into the hands of the imperialists and their agents. To call for non-intervention in Angola when they did was to call for the defeat of the MPLA and to give aid and comfort to the South African racists. Experience has shown that this isn't the first time and it probably won't be the last time that the labor bureaucrats have both in word and deed acted against the interests of the working class.

But it was shocking to observe the behavior of the Maoists. These people openly supported forces that the whole world had identified as being the agents of South Africa in Angola, namely UNITA. They even arranged meetings in Canada for a UNITA representative to help him spread his lies.

Even more scandalous, because you would expect better from people who call themselves Trotskyists, is the editorial in the Feb. 16, *Labor Challenge*. The League for Socialist Action has been unable to clearly see the class forces at work in Angola since the beginning of the struggle. Unable even at this late date to admit their errors they persist in them and sink deeper in the mire. They still equate the MPLA and FNLA and UNITA. They question the motives of Cuban intervention. In the midst of civil war they call for a united front of all three groups. Not only is this completely unreal but it is strikebreaking and not really one cut above the level of the Maoist line.

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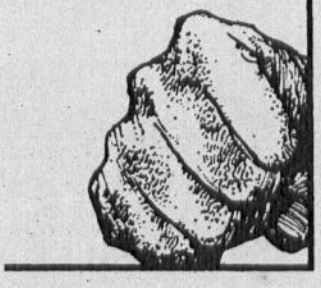
FORWARD FORUM

FRI. APRIL 9: We are cancelling our forum in order to attend an important meeting in defence of Soviet political prisoners, featuring Marxist Soviet dissident and exile, Leonid Plyushch. Sharing the platform are prominent representatives of the Canadian labor movement. We urge everyone to attend at Convocation Hall, University of Toronto, at 7:30 p.m.



FRI. APRIL 16: Whither Spain?
-an assessment of the developing revolutionary situation and its consequences for Europe
-Speaker: Dale Ritch, former president of York University students' council

FRI. APRIL 23: The Crisis of Maoism
-a report and analysis of the developments in this current on the revolutionary left in Canada
-Speaker: Ross Dowson, contributing editor to Forward

FRI. APRIL 30: A May Day Perspective on Canadian Labor's Giant Struggle
-a Marxist appraisal of the rise of labor struggles against the wage freeze and cutbacks, in the forward movement of the working class towards a socialist society
-Speaker: Murray Dowson, longstanding union activist and socialist

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Phone: 595-1284 for information

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forward

April 26, 1976.

Dear Friends of Forward,

From following the socialist and left press published in Canada, you are probably well aware that many of these publications begin with a great fanfare only to die quietly a few issues later.

There are many reasons for this. Primarily, they did not have the dedicated volunteer staff to put them out on a continuous basis. Secondly, their political analysis was such that they did not speak to the issues facing socialists, working people, women and native groups in Canada.

But most of all, they were not able to build a loyal circle of friends who would assist them financially in their volunteer labors.

Forward, unlike the other publications mentioned, have never lacked dedicated volunteers, an up-to-date, socialist analysis of the key issues in Canada.(the NDP, women, students, workers struggles, etc.) or a generous circle of friends who assist it financially during that one period a year when Forward appeals to them for funds.

From April 15th to June 18th, Forward will be having its annual fund drive.

Forward, in response to the increased demand, will be raising its press run over 50% in 1976. This increased cost added to the 25-30% hike in printing prices(Yes, socialist papers suffer from capitalist inflation.) requires, even more now than in the past, the financial aid of its friends.

Forward requires $5500.00 to meet this added challenge. We know that the dedicated volunteers and the politics of the paper are more than equal to this new challenge.

Forward is confident that its loyal friends will match these efforts financially.

Sometime in the next few weeks, friends and supporters of Forward will be calling on you to seek your contribution. Together, we will continue to publish Forward.

Continue to go Forward,

Calvin Johansson
Fund Drive Co-ordinator

FORWARD FORUM

A MAY DAY PERSPECTIVE ON CANADIAN LABOR'S GIANT STRUGGLE
--a Marxist appraisal of the rise of labor struggles against the wage freeze and cutbacks, in the forward movement of the working class towards a socialist society.

SPEAKER: Murray Dowson, longstanding trade union activist
activist and socialist militant

Friday April 30

■

FRIDAY MAY 7: INFLATION OR DEPRESSION
--a Marxist analysis of Canadian Dimension editor Cy Gonick's book
Speaker: Charles Lee

FRIDAY MAY 14: THE MIDDLE EAST AT THE CROSSROADS
--an analysis and socialist perspective on the unfolding struggle of the Palestinian nation for self-determination
Speaker: Harry Kopyto

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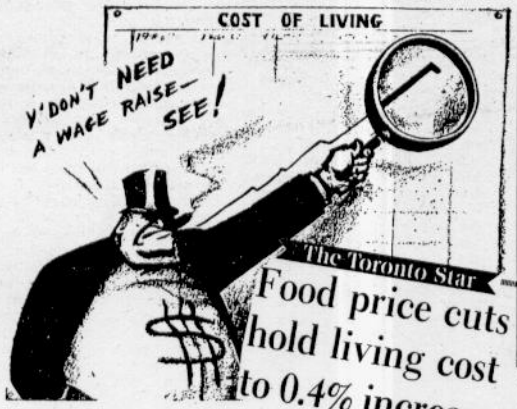
Labor action opposes cuts, controls
UAW head poses mass strike action



Stop the press news — Elliot Lake Ont.

Over 700 uranium miners, members of the Steelworkers' Union, have struck Denison Mines in protest against an AIB wage rollback. This is the first such strike in Canada.

The union had negotiated a 17 percent wage increase with the bosses. The Anti-Inflation Board rolled back the increase to 12.25 percent at the nearby Rio Algom Mine and to 10.9 percent at Denison. Men doing the same job would, if this ruling prevails, receive different wages.

All workers must give 100 percent support to the Denison strikers who are carrying the ball for us in the fight against the wage freeze!

By the Editors

While, as to be expected, the March 22 Ottawa rally did not shame the venal Big Business press into silence, it gave the lie to all its claims that only the top union leadership and the militants – and not the rank and file unionist or the unorganized – are opposed to the federal government's wage freeze.

Given the lead by the CLC executive council's call for a mobilization against a "program unparalleled in its callous and brutal treatment of all who must toil for a living" the ranks demonstrated their readiness for action, particularly around the response to the Autoworkers' train. Hundreds of workers left the shop floors, closing down key production lines in Windsor, Oakville, Oshawa and St. Therese, and causing the demonstration to take on some of the characteristics of a one day work stoppage. The train pulled out of Windsor with more than double the number anticipated and met such a response en route that the three hour delay caused the contingent to almost miss the demonstration. The Quebec contingent, constituting a third or more of the giant throng of 20 to 30,000 made it the most massive united action in Ottawa's history.

In response to jabs by Trudeau about a seeming contradiction in its position, two days later, with a unanimous vote, the CLC executive council withdrew its representatives from both the Economic Council of Canada and the Canadian Labor Relations Council. It thereby ripped off their mask of impartiality and destroyed them.

The demonstration called and now being mobilized by the Ontario Federation of Labor in Toronto for April 28 when it presents its brief to the Ontario Tory government, is certain to be even more massive than Ottawa's.

That the Big Business interests through their Liberal and Tory parties at every level of government have launched a massive assault on the living standards of the overwhelming majority of the Canadian people is becoming ever more clear – even to the hundreds of thousands who up until now have thought themselves to be quite outside of and unaffected by the Anti-Inflation Board regulations.

To the charge that the AIB has blocked and rolled back hundreds of wage increases but has not rolled back one price increase, Board Chairman Jean-Luc Pepin cynically responded that he is looking for business volunteers "whom we can hang up in public and chastise." Finally, on March 27, the AIB presented, with great fanfare, its first corporate victim. Naturally it wasn't the Big Three steel corporations whose price hoists on tin plate, rolled and galvanized sheet products of 6 to 8 per cent will soon be ricocheting in the form of price hoists through every level of the economy. Nor was it Imperial Oil for lifting its price one cent a gallon which will also soon seep into every level of pricing. It was O'Keefe's beer in Quebec – whose price per case was rolled back from 42 to a 22 cent increase.

Hiding behind the massive campaign that has been whipped up against labor's completely defensive efforts to win wage increases, every level of government under control of the Liberal and Tory machines has launched an austerity drive that either wipes out a great many hard-won and essential social services or imposes the cost of sustaining them directly onto those least able to pay for them.

The former president of the Montreal Stock Exchange, and now president of the Provincial Bank of Canada, boasted before the Grocery Products Manufacturers conference this month that ministers no longer have to keep talking about spending money and developing new programs just to keep their popularity: "Now cutting back is popular too."

The new Ontario Tory government budget, which the Liberals support in an embarrassing turnabout, hoists taxes on cigarettes, alcoholic beverages and hospital care costs. It also underwrites drastic cutbacks in allocations to lower

Continued on page 2

Vol. 2 No. 5 (17) April 1975

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forward

Vol. 2 No. 5 (17) April 1975 Toronto 20 Cents

Lib-Lockheed fiasco poses NATO pullout

By John Morgan

Despite charges that the giant US aircraft firm Lockheed bribed officials in six foreign countries to obtain contracts, and despite the Canadian government's so-called drive to fight inflation by holding down wages and cutting back on welfare and health services, the Trudeau regime has declared its determination to push ahead with a $1.6 billion deal to buy 18 Orion patrol planes for the Armed Services.

The largest purchase in peacetime history, the purchase is part of a massive increase in defence spending (doubling to $5 billion next year) made under pressure from the US to bolster the sagging fortunes of NATO, faced with defections and pullbacks from countries like Portugal, Greece, Turkey and the UK.

The Trudeau government also planned to use the deal to reactivate the Canadair plant in Montreal it recently bought from General Dynamics to provide the jobs needed to assemble the air frames for the 23-year old Orion design (the sophisticated electronic components are designed and built in California). Canadian sub-contracts involve $485 million, or almost half of the order, and Defence Minister Richardson boasted that production could reach $900 million if further orders were received from the US navy.

But the huge deal is threatened with cancellation, after what Richardson described as "a misunderstanding" arose over a "shortfall" of some $300 million was revealed in start-up financing for production of the planes. It seems Lockheed had misled the Canadian government into believing it could supply early financing, in order to win the contract from its competitor Boeing Aircraft.

After the bribe scandals broke, it announced that Canada was expected to raise the money. The threat of the loss of another big contract in Japan had undermined Lockheed's credit seriously. The American government, which had already staked Lockheed for $250 million from a special Emergency Loan Guarantee Fund, fully supported the corporation and charged that "Canadian funding is insufficient." Thus Canada was expected to finance production of the Orions and underwrite a discredited firm in danger of collapse. Canadian banks are now being pressured to raise the $300 million.

Were Canadian officials involved in Lockheed bribes? The corporation was revealed to have handed out $24 m countries: $1.1 a Dutch Prince Ber sale of jet fighers, Italian defence of sale of transport pl ping $12.8 million ex-Prime Ministe deal involving 1 Defence critic urged the Liberals because of the scat Minister Richard inquiry into possit Canada with the would amount to

Undoubtedly, government's serv integrated part of strategy of direct brit tation of Ot

establishment was revealed by the fact that two ex-deputy ministers, James Grandy and Simon Reisman, had retired from government service only last spring and are now under contract to Lockheed to "advise" the corporation on how to deal with the government.

But Canadian politicians totally lack the clout necessary to command payoffs on the scale that US business makes both internationally and domestically.

The US Securities and Exchange Commission estimates that about $15 billion is paid out in bribes and kickbacks every year within the US

Continued on page 2

Que. Common Front action underway

April 13 – The Bourassa government's attempts to frighten Quebec school teachers into submission have failed. Faced with a union-busting decree that prohibits them from being absent for work or involvement in a slowdown or strike for an 80-day period starting yesterday, or be fined up to $250 a day and their union up to $50,000 a day, the teachers have taken the road of militant defiance.

The Bourassa government which has been pumping millions of dollars into the Olympic Games and such projects as the James Bay Hydro Development justified its long delayed last offer as being restricted by the federal anti-inflation guidelines. With their continuing struggles the Quebec Common Front is now spearheading the Canada-wide struggle to smash the guidelines.

Canadian sovereignty at stake in Sask. potash nationalization

By Gord Doctorow

What happens when Canadians try to repatriate control of their own natural resources so that the benefits accrue to the Canadian owners?

In the case of the proposed Saskatchewan NDP government takeover of 50% of the potash industry, it means a formal resolution from the US Senate casting the Saskatchewan government in the role of a price-gouging cartel and asking the State Department to express its "concern" to the Canadian and

→p.2

for 70% of their potash for fertilizer. Saskatchewan provides all the potash produced in Canada and through longterm contracts assures supplies of this vital resource to the US market at below world market prices, thus freeing up US-mined potash for sale in the higher priced export markets.

This latest expression of "concern" by the US government follows a whole campaign of harassment designed to intimidate the Saskatchewan and federal governments. On December 9 of last year,

Continued on page 3

In this issue:

Labor women meet . . . . p 3
The Trudeau debate . . . . p 4
Israel's new crisis . . . . . p 7

forward #17 Apr 1976

Sask. potash nationalization becomes the battleground for Canadian ownership

Saskatchewan governments over a situation in which control of potash production will shift from the profit-gouging, mostly US-owned, private corporations to the less trustworthy people of Saskatchewan through their duly elected government.

US farmers rely on Saskatchewan for 70% of their potash for fertilizer. Saskatchewan provides all the potash produced in Canada and through longterm contracts assures supplies of this vital resource to the US market at below world market prices, thus freeing up US-mined potash for sale in the higher priced export markets.

This latest expression of "concern" by the US government follows a whole campaign of harassment designed to intimidate the Saskatchewan and federal governments. On December 9 of last year,

Continued on page 3

Continued from page

the US State Department sent Ottawa a note of "grave concern" expressing its disapproval of Saskatchewan's proposed takeover of potash and warned that investor confidence in Canada would be undermined. The new US ambassador to Canada, Thomas Enders, last month warned that "Statements that this power (provincial ownership of potash) would be used benignly are not adequate reassurance."

What's more, two US companies have withdrawn from Canpotex, the export potash sales company for Saskatchewan producers, because of pressure from the US state and justice departments, to which Saskatchewan Premier Blakeney replied: "We think that this is an odd situation for an independent country like Canada to find itself in."

What did our Liberal government in Ottawa say about these arrogant intrusions into the affairs of sovereign Canada by a foreign government on behalf of foreign owned monopolies? The department of External Affairs sent some diplomatic notes of its own to Washington expressing that there was a "misunderstanding", that the takeovers would not discriminate against US corporations, that the Saskatchewan government would continue to supply US potash needs, that potash prices to US markets would be kept low, and – oh yes – that "it would be unfortunate and incorrect" if foreign governments and companies felt investment was no longer welcome in Canada.

In contrast, Saskatchewan Attorney-General Roy Romanow in a parliamentary debate with the defenders of US imperialist interests, the Liberals and Conservatives, declared that he was proud of a government which had "repatriated the resources" for the people of Saskatchewan.

The NDP government's proposed takeover of at least 50% of the potash industry is the largest program of public ownership of this type ever undertaken in the history of Canada. The NDP government concluded that this was the only way to assure a sufficient return to the province of the exploitation of its natural resources and to bring about the expansion of the potash industry to meet the demands of an expanding world market.

The NDP government found itself in this position after an incredible campaign of open defiance and sabotage by the potash corporations: court actions against the provincial government's right to levy various taxes, withholding of more than $30 million in taxes, ostentatious announcement by the companies that they were withholding $200 million investment for expansion during the last provincial election (despite the expanding world market), and refusal by all the US and the South African controlled potash companies to disclose their financial details to the government for tax purposes.

The NDP government and party organizations have responded to the big business smear campaign against the takeover policy with a significant campaign of their own. Through public speaking tours by cabinet members, through a multi-media campaign, the Saskatchewan NDP is explaining the reasons for the policy and drumming up support in the population on TV and in newspaper ads. Moreover, the party ranks are being mobilized with button campaigns, meetings, etc. Big ads explain the real history of the potash industry in Saskatchewan and argue for public ownership: "We invite you to ask yourself this question: who runs Saskatchewan – is it the people or the foreign owned corporations? The decision is up to you."

Although the policy of public ownership of potash is justified by the NDP leadership on strictly pragmatic grounds, it nonetheless projects a working class solution to the power and defiance of big US capital. It projects an anti-private-ownership and therefore anti-capitalist solution to the siphoning of the Saskatchewan people's wealth, resources, and future to fill the coffers of the giant imperialist corporations who are aided and abetted by their government in Washington. The Saskatchewan Federation of Labor acknowledged this fact in its annual brief to the provincial cabinet when it urged the government to go for 100% ownership of potash to achieve real domestic control.

The actions of the Saskatchewan government deserve the active support of all socialists who are striving for an independent and socialist Canada.

"Masters in our own house" was one of the clarion calls of the Quiet Revolution. The domination of US corporations in Quebec means that more than political independence is involved in Quebec's national struggle.

forward #17 Apr 1976

Broadbent off mark on Judges Scandal

Open Letter to Ed Broadbent

I believe your conduct during the Judges Scandal was not what was needed from the leader of the labor-based NDP.

I cannot say that I did not feel some sympathy for Andre Ouellet, the Consumer Affairs Minister who ended up resigning for criticizing the acquittal of three major sugar refinery companies of price-fixing by Justice Minister Mackay. Whatever may have motivated him to make those statements which the judge ruled contemptuous, the fact remains that the labor and socialist movement have long known that price-fixing takes place at the conglomerate levels. Sixteen months of evidence may not have convinced Justice Mackay of that fact, but we reserve the right to disagree with him.

What shocked me most about your conduct was the fact that you concentrated your fire on the threat to the independence of the judiciary which you perceived to be the main danger, and the pressures exerted by various cabinet ministers on Quebec's judges – the dial-a-judge scandal.

Why should the NDP make the pretence of an independent judiciary the cardinal justification for its call for a public inquiry into the revelation of cabinet interference? It is understandable that the Tories should promote illusions about the independence of the courts – their backers, the banks, insurance companies and big industry have found that the courts have been most liberal with them, the acquittal of the three sugar refineries being the most appropriate example.

But the labor movement, which forms the backbone of NDP support, has no reason to harbor illusions about the independence of the Canadian judicial system – a system which by its very nature serves to maintain the privileges of private property and social inequality enshrined in the lawbooks and sanctified by precedent.

Do you really think that the judges, who are in their bulk faithful oldline party workers, trained to think of public policy as the interest of this social system, are independent?

These judges, appointed by Ottawa on the advice of local benchers' associations, remain the same people they were before their appointments, reflecting the values and beliefs of a small, influential and wealthy sector of society – the ruling class. Note should be taken of the fact that Associate Chief Justice Hugessen who presided at the contempt trial of Consumer Minister Andre Ouellet, and who found him guilty of contempt for attacking the acquittal of the sugar refinery companies of price-fixing, was himself an associate of two Montreal lawyers, Lamontagne and Fortier, and all three had represented major sugar companies in various hearings. Lamontagne represented St. Lawrence Sugar Co. and Fortier represents Atlantic Sugar and is a director of the parent Jannock Ltd. He was involved in preliminary inquiries in December that led to the contempt citation against Ouellet.

Within the context of these facts, it is bizarre that you have chosen instead to popularize the myth of an independent judiciary. Further, your main reason for calling an inquiry and for the resignation of Bud Drury, one of the cabinet members found pressuring a judge, was to stop public cynicism.

"They will say, 'this is a cover-up; there they are, those powerful people. They make the law; they implement the law. They ever mingle with the judiciary; and they get away with violations.' Cab drivers, fishermen, and other working people know in their hearts that they would not get away with such violations," you said.

The judiciary, like all other parts of the state apparatus, are instruments of oppression of one class over another, and the workers of Canada perceive this reality in what you call "cynicism".

Not only is this obvious from the judges' scandal. The recent Federal Law Reform Commission and Peace and Security legislation reflect the bankruptcy of capitalism in the areas of criminal law and civil rights as a result of a higher value being placed on property rights then on human rights.

The Federal Law Reform Commission commented on the criminal law: "The whole system resembles a vast machine sucking people in one end, spewing them out the other and then sucking them back in again, a self-generating mechanism, certainly not a human process."

Further underlining the bankruptcy of capitalist criminology is the rightist call for law and order masquerading itself as the peace and security bill. This dangerous piece of legislation, which is about to be passed by the federal house, contains a proposal to replace capital punishment with 25 year minimum sentences, a proposal which even Solicitor-General Allmand admitted was likely to be counterproductive to rehabilitation. Is it not a comment on this system that the only "choices" it can conceive are life in prison or death for those convicted of certain crimes?

A growing awareness of the social and economic causes of crime was shown by a recent Gallup Poll published in the *Toronto Star* March 17, which revealed that 61% of Canadians blame society for crime and lawlessness compared to 25% blaming the individual.

Mr. Broadbent, you would be performing a service to the constituency you represent by ceasing to feed the illusion of an independent judiciary and by campaigning for an end to the encroachment of civil liberties and unjust property relations which form the foundation of law under capitalism.

By Ken Napier

forward #17 Apr 1976

Waffle and the fight for a socialist NDP

Candidates for the NDP national leadership. The contest quickly became one between the Waffle's Laxer and Lewis.

By Ellie Kirzner

Our last article took us through the expulsions of the left within the NDP, the isolation of socialist ideas, and the initial glimmerings of the new radicalization. We ended at the 1967 convention where the Socialist Caucus claimed the adherence of 100 delegates and won important votes on the withdrawal of US troops from Vietnam and public ownership of natural resources.

We turn now to the forces which ushered Waffle on to the scene in the 1969 federal convention. Born with a silver spoon in its mouth, the Waffle was the baby of the 1968 youth radicalization. Shaped by the debates of the student milieu, the Waffle reflected the new youth radicalization. And it was able to flourish within the NDP because of the ferment generating within Canadian society.

In the 1968 federal election, this new radicalism was deflected into Trudeaumania – the swinging hip hyperbole touting "participatory democracy" and a "just society".

In the face of the Liberal Party sweep, the NDP, it seemed was the wall flower who no one had asked to dance. In an attempt to capture the processes that were passing the party by, the NDPers of the mainstream, like Charles Taylor and Ed Broadbent prompted discussions aimed at re-designing NDP policy. Charles Taylor's contribution to *Dimension* in early 1969, "Socialism in the 70's" proposed a re-invigorated version of socialism attuned to the new political climate. With the winds of change blowing within the party, socialist ideas began to move far beyond the mimeographed leaflets of a hounded caucus. When the Waffle Manifesto did emerge in the party, it was graced by the signatures of such notables as Dave Barrett and Charles Taylor.

But there was another factor which gave the Waffle an easy introduction into the party – the steadily growing sentiment of Canadian nationalism which was leaving the position papers of the new left and seeping rapidly into the political mainstream.

In 1966, Walter Gordon had written *A Choice for Canada*, a pro-capitalist argument for economic independence, reviewed favorably by Mel Watkins in *Canadian Forum* and greeted with enthusiasm at a meeting of 500 University of Toronto students. Watkins went on to become the chief architect of the Watkins Report, written for the federal government on the penetration of US capital in Canada. Although the report itself eventually met its fate in ministerial ashcans, Watkins began to look squarely at the issue of economic independence and discovered that it could not be accomplished without socialism.

The early new left, on the other hand, sensitively attuned to the mounting escalation of the American government in Vietnam, began to color its pacifist-humanism with increasingly nationalist hues. Articles began to appear articulating the vision of a new society freed from the excesses of the American technological and military empire. In 1966, James Laxer argued for an orientation that would combine the new left's pet strategy – the establishment of decentralized power at the "grass-roots" – with the struggle for Canadian independence.

Within a few years, Laxer had reconsidered. Just weeks before the 1969 federal convention in the pages of *Dimension*, Laxer admonished the Canadian left, urging it to free itself from hero-worship of the American radicalization. Radicals in Canada, he argued, have to seek out those institutions within Canadian society which are the potential allies of the left and which can offer resistance to the impingements of the American empire. To ignore the NDP in this respect, he warned, is to abandon an important instrument of the social struggle and to evade the issue of working class power.

From the moment the Waffle surfaced, its impact on the party was electrifying. This wasn't because it was the only nationalist current in the party: even the Lewis resolution at the '69 convention (aptly dubbed the "Marshmellow") captured the mood and called in ringing tones for the extrication of Canada from the American empire. What distinguished the Waffle however was its vision – its powerful merging of the issues of economic independence with the construction of socialism. Countering the leadership's timid insistence that all mechanisms of the modern economy were useful – regulating foreign investment, taxation reform, public ownership – the Waffle boldly urged the "nationalization of the commanding heights of the economy."

It was the vigor of Waffle proposals that inspired the support of one third of the delegates, in '69, for the Manifesto, *For an Independent Socialist Canada*. But it was the promise of an organized left caucus around the Manifesto that enticed an important sector of the youth radicalization into the party and alienated the more fainthearted of the initial signers. (Taylor and Barrett

→p.2

among them.)

From its inception, the Waffle's influence continued to expand. Other left currents within the party almost immediately adopted its perspective: the Socialist Caucus welcomed the new formation and simply merged into it, and what was left of the NDY became its affiliate.

In August of '69, Waffle held a national conference to structure its caucus and plan its strategy – an undertaking which proved gold in the following provincial conventions where it carried 25% of the vote in Saskatchewan and 46% in Ontario.

By growing up within the NDP, the Waffle changed the texture of political left assumptions. Thus while the early new left wanted to "surpass" the state by building organs of the counter-culture, the Waffle addressed itself to the central issues of the economic structure and the cruciality of political power. While the new left in its social isolation attempted to find a quick route to the workers' movement by doing picket duty, the Waffle suggested a much more impressive political relationship to the working class within a mass labor party. And finally, while the new left was a prisoner of the campus milieu, the Waffle gained access to every living room in the country by virtue of its location within a mainstream political party. Within a short time the issues of economic independence and its relation to socialism were standard fare in the news intake of millions of Canadians.

Nationalism even led former Liberal cabinet member Eric Kierans to bolt from the Liberal Party. Kierans authored a report for the Manitoba government advising public ownership of metal resources in the province. "The priorities of the global corporation are not the priorities of the people whose resources, with the urging of governments, they have appropriated". The NDP government did not act on his report.

It is clear that no other mass organization within Canadian society could have given Waffle socialism a forum the way the NDP was able to do. Freed from direct obligations to the capitalist class, and based upon the organized trade union movement, the NDP ranks had no resistance to the permeation of the new radicalization. As well, the limited existence of certain accepted practices in relation to democratic rights within the Party allowed Waffle an organizational existence – a right it capably used. Having a coherent structure, the Waffle was both able to expand its own political understanding through internal debate and effectively present its program to the various levels of the party.

The culmination of this internal development was the contest for leadership of the federal party, where Waffle presented a program on the issues of socialism, extra-parliamentary action, women's rights, and self-determination for Quebec to the whole membership and the Canadian public in one of the most exciting and dynamic conventions in the party's history. The convention ended in a four ballot struggle which eventually polarized between Laxer and Lewis, Lewis finally winning.

In all, the ascension of the Waffle was a tribute to the radicalization's ability to refine its views and transmit them within a mass party.

In the next issue, we will examine the subsequent evolution of the Waffle in the NDP, its expulsion from the Ontario wing and the development of the NDP-left and Waffle since 1972.

Waffle and the fight for a socialist NDP

By Ellie Kirzner

(from Forward, April 1976 – Waffle series 2/4)

Our last article took us through the expulsions of the left within the NDP. the isolation of socialist ideas, and the initial glimmerings of the new radicalization. We ended at the 1967 convention where the Socialist Caucus claimed the adherence of 100 delegates and won important votes on the withdrawal of US troops from Vietnam and public ownership of natural resources.

We turn now to the forces which ushered Waffle on to the scene in the 1969 federal convention. Born with a silver spoon in its mouth, the Waffle was the baby of the 1968 youth radicalization. Shaped by the debates of the student milieu, the Waffle reflected the new youth radicalization. And it was able to flourish within the NDP because of the ferment generating within Canadian society.

In the 1968 federal election, this new radicalism was deflected into Trudeaumania – the swinging hip hyperbole touting "participatory democracy" and a "just society".

In the face of the Liberal Party sweep, the NDP, it seemed was the wall flower who no one had asked to dance. In an attempt to capture the processes that were passing the party by, the NDPers of the mainstream, like Charles Taylor and Ed Broadbent prompted discussions aimed at re-designing NDP policy. Charles Taylor's contribution to *(Canadian) Dimension* in early 1969, "Socialism in the 70's" proposed a re-invigorated version of socialism attuned to the new political climate. With the winds of change blowing within the party, socialist ideas began to move far beyond the mimeographed leaflets of a hounded caucus. When the “Waffle Manifesto” did emerge in the party, it was graced by the signatures of such notables as Dave Barrett and Charles Taylor.

But there was another factor which gave the Waffle an easy introduction into the party – the steadily growing sentiment of Canadian nationalism which was leaving the position papers of the new left and seeping rapidly into the political mainstream.

In 1966. Walter Gordon had written “A Choice for Canada,” a pro- capitalist argument for economic independence, reviewed favorably by Mel Watkins in C*anadian Forum* and greeted with enthusiasm at a meeting of 500 University of Toronto students. Watkins went on to become the chief architect of the (“)*Watkins Report,(“)* written for the federal government on the penetration of US capital in Canada. Although the report itself eventually met its fate in ministerial ash-cans, Watkins began to look squarely at the issue of economic independence and discovered that it could not be accomplished without socialism.

The early new left, on the other hand, sensitively attuned to the mounting escalation of the American government in Vietnam, began to color its pacifist-humanism with increasingly nationalist hues. Articles began to appear articulating the vision of a new society freed from the excesses of the American technological and military empire. In

1966. James Laxer argued for an orientation that would combine the new left's pet strategy— the establishment of decentralized power at the "grass-roots" - with the struggle for Canadian independence.

Within a few years, Laxer had reconsidered. Just weeks before the 1969 federal convention in the pages of *(Canadian) Dimension*, Laxer admonished the Canadian left. urging it to free itself from hero-worship of the American radicalization. Radicals in Canada, he argued, have to seek out those institutions within Canadian society which are the potential allies of the left and which can offer resistance to the impingements of the American empire. To ignore the NDP in this respect, he warned, is to abandon an important instrument of the social struggle and to evade the issue of working class power.

From the moment the Waffle surfaced, its impact on the party was electrifying. This wasn't because it was the only nationalist current in the party: even the Lewis resolution at the '69 convention (aptly dubbed the "Marshmellow") captured the mood and called in ringing tones for the extrication of Canada from the American empire. What distinguished the Waffle however was its vision - its powerful merging of the issues of economic independence with the construction of socialism. Countering the leadership's timid insistence that all mechanisms of the modem economy were useful – regulating foreign investment, taxation reform, public ownership – the Waffle boldly urged the "nationalization of the commanding heights of the economy."

(The 1969 NDP federal Convention)

It was the vigor of Waffle proposals that inspired the support of one third of the delegates in '69 for the manifesto *For an Independent Socialist Canada.* But it was the promise of an organized left caucus around the “Manifesto” that enticed an important sector of the youth radicalization into the party and alienated the more fainthearted of the initial signers. (Taylor and Barrett among them.)

From its inception, the Waffle's influence continued to expand. Other left currents within the party almost immediately adopted its perspective: the Socialist Caucus welcomed the new formation and simply merged into it, and what was left of the NDY became its affiliate.

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(Waffle contests the NDP leadership)

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forward #17 Apr 1967

US-first hiring blocked, but Cdn studies neglect continues

By Abe Levi

The hiring of US-educated sociologists at Scarborough College, University of Toronto, was blocked recently by the protest of two graduate student representatives on the hiring committee.

In a statement issued on the incident, the Sociology Graduate Student Association said: "The hiring of non-citizens while competent Canadians are available and looking for work must be prevented if the Canadianization of the discipline and our universities is to succeed. Our futures are at stake!"

The sociology department chairman's practice of sending personal letters soliciting the names of potential candidates in US institutions could hardly be considered an attempt to secure high standards of international scholarship. No such letters were sent to institutions in Britian or the Third World. And, most shocking, none were sent in Canada!

The graduate students' protest succeeded because they had the "insolence" to demand what is normal in other sovereign countries – that the US-educated candidates supply Canadian examples to illustrate their replies to questions from the search committee. Their inability to comply so embarrassed the search committee that further interviews with these candidates were cancelled.

Ironically, this incident took place in the wake of a recently released report condemning the pitiful state of Canadian Studies across Canada. The authoritative Symons Report on Canadian Studies at our universities and colleges tells of the "tremendous concern that is felt through the entire country" which led to the 343 page publication called "To Know Ourselves".

The report traces this interest to the fact that "many... agree that the Canadian identity... is threatened by certain forces... They argue, the ultimate purpose of Canadian studies is to combat these forces, be they forces of imperialism, continentalism, regionalism, centralization, federalism, or whatever." This consciousness is based on a rejection not only of US-based imperialist control of culture and ideas but also of the colonial mentality prevalent in Canada itself.

Of course, the fact that Canada is an integrated capitalist dependency of US imperialism provides Canadian studies with a radical thrust, because it poses how Canadians are going to determine the course of their lives and enjoy the products of their labor. Although a study of Canada will not find a peculiar way in which to understand Canada in isolation, it will point to a method of analysis applicable to Canada and the rest of the world that is superior to current US political science.

The current university system is not responding to this interest. The report notes the wide discrepancy between the percent of students enrolled in Canadian history (34) and the percentage of courses offered (20). Even this situation has been worsened by cutbacks. The report notes that decreased revenues have been particularly harsh in these areas. Some call this cutting the fat off education. In reality it points to the link between the demands for Canadian hiring and studies and the struggle for full employment.

The astonishing lack of Canadian studies and self-examinaton in a supposedly modern and independent country can only be explained by the general subservience and dependence on US technology which the Canadian ruling class fosters. They regard knowledge about Canada to be detrimental to their class interests as well as their branch plant role within North America. The report notes how government has denied researchers the material they need to develop their studies.

The increasingly apparent conclusion then becomes that Canadian education, jobs and research are being sacrificed for the sake of the continued flow of profits down south in the "American Way"

forward #17 Apr 1976

Behind the defeat

York campus vote

By Dale Ritch

The forces of the student left suffered a setback at York University in the student council elections which took place in mid-March. Candidates of the United Left Slate won only five out of the contested 22 seats for the central student government (CYSF). ULS Presidential candidate, NDP activist Gael Silzer, won 30% of the vote. Her main rival, Barry Edson, received about 50% and a third candidate got the remainder. The turnout on voting day was the highest in the history of student elections at York; 1515 students voted out of an eligible 9,000.

The ULS was the electoral arm of the United Left Coalition, an alliance of campus activists from the NDP, anti-cutbacks committee, Third World Student's Union, daycare centre, abortion repeal committee, and many other campus organizations including several socialist tendencies. After three years of consistent mobilization of students, the ULS finally won over the CYSF last year, winning over half of the seats and the important post of President.

Although the results of this year's election indicate that only a minority of the students who voted saw the need for an activist student union, it doesn't follow that students are moving in a right-wing political trend or that the program and tactics of the ULS were in general incorrect. However, a correct assessment of the reasons for the setback is essential if the ULC is to achieve its goal of becoming the leadership not only of the leftist students on campus but of the broad mass of students.

The ULC attempts to administer the student government faced a series of problems. First, the success of the ULC last year was a bit premature and based not so much on a solid acceptance of the program of the ULS as on some other factors. Many students voted for the ULS out of sympathy, because of some very obvious manipulations on the part of the incumbent CYSF administration and election officials who tried to bureaucratically prevent the ULS from being elected. Also, many students voted for the ULS last year simply because they wanted a change from the usual do-nothing CYSF government.

The ULS was unable to extend this base for a number of reasons. Most important, the administration managed to head off the inevitable radicalization of the student body for one more year because of a temporary respite from the university's chronic budget crisis. Government grant increases, together with increased enrollment meant that the further implementation of major cutbacks on students, faculty and staff could be held off for another year. (It is inevitable however that the situation will deteriorate next year).

Not only did this decisive objective factor temporarily undercut the ability of the ULS to mobilize students on a concrete basis or present the necessity of their perspective, but the ULS was unable to surmount the general political gap between itself and the mass of students.

Here some of the inexperience of ULS council members came into play, revealed in such matters as a student handbook which contained some ultraleft rhetoric.

Over the course of the year, the ULS had to bear the brunt of an extremely hostile campus press. The **Excalibur** red-baited the ULS mercilessly from its first issue and editorialized during the campaign on behalf of our opposition. When leftists on the campus attempted to involve themselves on the paper, they were excluded from decision-making processes by arbitrary rulings emanating from the right-wing editorial clique that controlled the paper. The experiences at York have proved once again that the left must recognize the centrality of a democratic student press in building and educating the movement.

Arising out of this situation, another major factor turned the tables on the ULS. Its opponents managed to unify for the sole purpose of defeating the ULS in the elections. This right slate managed to present itself as a credible opposition.

A few members of the NDP club on campus who were opposed to the mass actions supported by CYSF this year, (Jan. 21 anti-cutbacks demo, cafeteria boycott organized in the first term to protest firing of food workers, etc.) presented themselves as token leftists in a coalition which included Liberals and Conservatives.

Edson, who was chairman of the NDP club at York and his campaign manager Jay Bell (leading campus Liberal and former chairman of the Ontario Liberal Youth organization) made a deal with the College Councils at York to run a joint campaign against the ULS. The College Councils have traditionally been the heart of reaction at York because they are bureaucratic social cliques who have always hated the ULS because of its support for a strong central student union which they see as a threat to their service oriented college governments.

Edson also opportunistically adopted many of the programmatic demands of the ULS in his campaign. He said he was against cutbacks, opposed to fee increases and wanted better daycare. Although experienced activists were not deceived by this ploy, many students who are concerned about cutbacks and student unemployment, but who did not see the necessity of mobilizations and political action rather than lobbying, were.

Their support for Edson will end when the unprincipled nature of Edson's coalition becomes clear as the new CYSF tries to deal with the onslaught of government attacks against students. The issues and perspectives of the ULC are sure to be confirmed.

In spite of the setback in this year's elections, members of the ULC feel that our general efforts were a success. The coalition held together and was active throughout the year. Major course unions, the Science Students Association and the Third World Student's Union supported the coalition, making the ULC the ongoing coalition of activists spanning the entire left on campus.

As the new CYSF falters with its lobbying and do-nothing policies, the ULC will continue to be the force that can lead students forward against the administration and government.

forward #17 Feb 1976

CLC recognizes new need:

Labor women meet

By Marg Smith

Working women, unimpressed with the results of International Women's Year and government-sponsored Why Not buttons, are taking on the question of inequality and discrimination that is so much a part of our society.

Women trade unionists have recently held two conferences: an Ottawa gathering of 400 women organized by the Canadian Labor Congress, and one in Toronto where some 200 women attended the founding conference of Ontario Working Women (OWW), sponsored by the Metro Labor Council. An attitude of "let's stop talking" and "it's about time we did something about it" prevailed at both conferences.

Both conferences showed that although "equal pay for equal work" has been written into the Human Rights Code, women, who make up 40% of Canada's work force, earn only 50-60% of what men earn. Even this situation is deteriorating. Projections for 1976-7 reveal a worsening discrepancy as the wage restrictions imposed by the Liberal government increase the differential between low income workers, who are mainly women.

Not only is the federal Liberal Party at fault for this worsening status of women; so are the Ontario Tories with their social service cutbacks. Remember that health care workers, teachers and social workers are predominantly female. Indeed it's about time women realized that action is needed to fight the trend.

Delegates at the Ottawa CLC conference, many of whom were young and new to the labor movement, were at first enlightened by this information. And as woman after woman rose to state her own experiences of discrimination at work, the statistics took on personal meaning. The mood changed to one of anger.

BC and Quebec women in particular took up the question of a general strike and the need for it. The conference went on to overwhelmingly pass a resolution calling upon the CLC to stage a one day general strike. Other resolutions called for: setting up of 24 hour child care centres, a CLC women's division with a director of women's progams, female representation on bargaining committees proportional to the membership, and an end to wage differentials, fringe benefits and seniority systems based on sex. The women felt that it was time for unions to eliminate discriminatory clauses in their contracts.

Toronto women, responding to the need for a women's organization, founded the OWW March 26-28. The policy paper states that, "its purpose is to integrate more women into the ongoing activity of trade unions and to get more out of women's demands met in contracts. We can express unity and work with women outside the trade union movement but work starts within our own ranks. It is the existing labor movement that must be strengthened, both to confront the employers and to organize the many unorganized workers, of which low-paid women form a great part." The conference attempted to unite the efforts of all organized working women, including organized teachers, nurses and others who were well represented at the conference despite the fact that their organizations are as yet outside the formal union movement. They are determined to bring that power to bear as a caucus working with their union brothers in the labor movement which will raise women's issues onto the main floor of the union movement.

As more women are entering the work force and are working longer because of economic necessity (75% are unorganized) conscious efforts must be made to win the benefits that male workers have already won by organizing against their exploiters. A major policy paper discussed by the OWW on Organizing the Unorganized recognized the importance of this issue, and its importance to the whole labor movement.

The OWW dealt with basically the same issues confronting the CLC's women's conference. Specifically, resolutions called for: the removal of abortion from the criminal code; greater safety standards in contracts and adequate government health and safety legislation; a proportional increase in employment as production increases; a shorter work week with no loss in pay to ensure equitable distribution of available work; and removal of sex-stereotyped books from schools. All resolutions go back to locals and governing bodies for endorsement and action.

The plenary session also called for a one-day general strike against Trudeau's wage controls.

The Toronto weekend was not just a conference but the founding convention of an active independent organization. A broadly representative twelve woman executive was elected and a constitution adopted calling for no fewer than four meetings per year in addition to the annual meeting. Membership is open to any Toronto area woman who is a member of a bona fide collective bargaining unit.

Women work – and working women are organizing. Women's liberation and the class struggle are joining forces. And Why Not!

Ottawa women civil servants have always been subject to discrimination and have had to demonstrate against "rug-ranking", that is being tied to the future of their male bosses, and for wage increases and even coffee breaks as in this demonstration in May, 1975.

Anti sexual policies shake RC grip

By Harry Paine

While the persecution of Dr. Henry Morgentaler has reached a stalemate until the new trial date late in May, the struggle for abortion repeal continues to move forward.

The Roman Catholic Church hierarchy and its front, the so-called "Right to Life", are madly rushing to stick their fingers in the dikes as the floodtide of public opinion moves against them.

The Catholic Charities' withdrawal from the Community Fund of Greater Toronto can only be described as attempted blackmail. The admission of Planned Parenthood into the United Way organization precipitated their hysteria.

These wizened celibates are trying to block this victory of Canadian women who are fighting for the right to control their own destiny.

Repeal of the abortion laws from the criminal code is still the front line battle of the woman's rights struggle. Archbishop Pocock made this very clear in his statement of withdrawal when he asserted: "There can be no half-way measure. One is either for abortion or against it".

This is the ground on which the Church hierarchy has decided to fight. It is not just women that they are making their stand against but the continuing radicalization of the working people of this country. It is the Church's catechism to support the state structure of every country in which they operate. That is why they kept their mouths shut in Germany as Hitler massacred the Jews. Not one Right to Life group raised a protest against the genocide in Vietnam by the US. And who speaks for the thousands of unwanted and battered children; certainly not the Right to Life.

The Church is paying the price in its own ranks for being the handmaiden of reactionary regimes throughout the world.

In Italy, the predominantly Catholic Christian Democratic Party government is on the verge of collapse because of its opposition to the demand for liberalized abortion laws. The Communist Party of Italy, which has long been pussy-footing around with the Vatican on the issue, is buckling under the pressure from its women ranks. It is moving closer to the Socialist Party's position of abortion on demand.

A recent survey by the National Research Centre of Chicago showed only 38 per cent of Catholics in the US feel "very sure" about the religious beliefs and values that they teach their children.

Rev. Andrew Greely the project's senior researcher and a leading Catholic sociologist commenting on Pope Paul's 1968 birth control encyclical and its relationship to Catholic decline said: "as far as the American Church goes it was one of the worst catastrophes in religious history".

Attendance at mass is down (a mortal sin by Catholic standards), daily prayer is down, and worst of all, money isn't coming in at the rate that prices are going up.

In Canada, church attendance and donations are increasing only slightly or remaining steady. This would represent a decline considering the large number of recent immigrants from Catholic countries like Italy, Portugal and Latin America.

Quebec shows the most dramatic decline in church attendance and influence. Witness the fact that the 130,000 strong Quebec Women's Federation recently called for the repeal of abortion laws in direct defiance of the Church's edicts.

At one time the Church was a major part of Quebec life and encouraged a distorted, backward view of Quebec nationality even as it acted in the interests of American corporations. Rising Quebecois consciousness developed a socialist and anti-religious direction and is partly responsible for the desertion from the Church.

The present wave of feminism, which had its roots in the radicalization of the sixties, has made itself felt even in the Catholic Church. Seminaries are standing half empty as would-be priests are finding more concrete ways to express their idealism. And many prominent bishops and theologians are openly critical of the supposed infallibility of the Pope.

The rebellion of Catholic women against the Humanae Vitae encyclical on birth control and abortion, shows clearly that the abortion issue is shaking up all the major institutions of reaction. As the economies of the capitalist world continue to decline and living standards with it, the "keep'em barefoot and pregnant" mentality of the Church hierarchy is not going over at all.

The right to choose becomes an increasingly important part of the fight for a better standard of living for all peoples and although it is hard to organize, has a built-in dynamic that can carry the women's movement towards final victory.

forward #17 Apr 1976

Editor: Wayne Roberts

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Forward sets goal: $5500 from readers

by the Editors

Many times over the last two years, you, our readers, have looked to *Forward* for a clear, socialist analysis of events and issues in Canada and international discussions of particular interest. Now, *Forward* is looking to you. We need $5,500 for the coming year of operations. Last year, our fund-raising drive had a goal of $5,000. This year, due to increased operational costs combined with plans to expand our subscription base, we have increased our goal to $5,500.

We know through your letters to the editor and through conversations we have had with many people at the demonstrations and meetings at which we have distributed *Forward* that our paper is both widely read and respected within the Left, the NDP and among students, women and trade unionists.

The coming year will, no doubt, present many unprecedented challenges and opportunities for socialists in Canada. The correctness of our analysis has been borne out by the growing support for the NDP within the Canadian working class and the increasing possibilities of the formation of a left caucus within the NDP. The rise of militancy in the Canadian labor movement in response to the onslaught of the wage control program, the continuing development of the women's movement, and the broad struggle against the cutbacks make it all the more urgent that we be able to present our perspective to these ever-broadening arenas of militance.

We want to continue to provide up-to-date articles that will be clued in to these and other important events and aspects of the Canadian working class. We want to continue to provide you with the highly readable socialist paper we have been able to produce so far. We would also like to expand and improve our paper. To do these things, we need money. If all our readers were to contribute $50 (about $4 a month averaged over a year) or even $25 (about $2 a month), our problem would easily be solved.

Last year, a supporter in St. Catharines raised money and got subscriptions by holding a *Forward* fund-raising party on his own initiative. Hopefully, other readers might try similar activities.

The fund drive will run from April 15 to June 18, 1976. So far, we have raised over $1,000. We are asking you to raise the remaining $4,500. In return, we will match your pledge of money with a pledge of our time and energy. Between now and then, we are asking you to put us over the top so that we may continue *Forward*.

Actors get autonomy

As of April 6, when Actors Equity of Canada will be launched with a party attended by US Actors Equity President Theodore Bikel, its only connection with the US Actors Equity will be participation in a joint committee formed to discuss common problems.

With that, Actors Equity of Canada's 2,000 paid-up members will be "masters in their own house for the very first time", according to executive secretary Burnard Chadwick.

The relations that the Canadian members had with the New York office were similar in form to those that many other so-called international (US-based) unions have with their Canadian members – but in this case they were not rigidly practised. The NY office had the power to make all staff appointments, all purchases, no matter how small, and to have its auditors notarize the Canadian books. When the Canadian members sought to buy a building for headquarters a special agreement had to be worked out so that title did not belong to the US council. The standard US contracts worked against the development of Canadian theatres and had to be so modified and readapted that no one could make out what rules they were to follow.

Some five years ago the majority of the members told the executive that they wanted to conduct the union on their own, without having to first obtain a stamp of approval from New York – and gradually the situation progressed to independence with fraternal relations.

Forward forums clue in to key socialist issues

By Gord Doctorow

"International Unions and The Canadian Left" was the subject of the March 19 Forward Forum as part of its regular Friday night series. This topic was presented by guest speaker Norman Penner, a Marxist scholar who had participated in the earlier experiences of the labor movement as a socialist activist.

He presented the historical experience of the trade union movement in Canada tracing the roles of various left forces in this experience and critically assessing them from the vantage point of the lessons drawn from Marxist experience. The speaker brought a maturity and depth to the study of the Canadian labor movement that is all too often lacking in the superficial pronunciamentos of the new generation of radicals.

In line with the theoretical and practical questions that are being widely discussed and debated in the various journals of the Canadian left, the Forward Forum series is dealing with the following topics:

— the new and promising development of CLC-supported conferences of organized working women, by socialist activist Judy Brooke.

— an assessment of the developing revolutionary situation in Spain and its consequences for Europe, by Dale Ritch, former president of the York University Students' council and Socialist League executive member

— a report and analysis of the developments in the growing crisis of Maoism in Canada by *Forward* contributing editor Ross Dowson

— a May Day appraisal of the rise of labor struggles against the wage freeze and social service cutbacks in the context of the forward movement of the working class towards a socialist society, by Murray Dowson, a longstanding union activist and member of the Socialist League.

Forward Forums are held regularly every Friday night at 8:00 p.m. in Toronto at 53 Gerrard St. West (at Bay St.). For further information, phone 595-1284.

Labor girds to defeat the wage freeze

NDP, strike unity key elements of CLC strategy

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

forward

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Open letter to CLC delegates

The working people of Canada are in increasing numbers looking to organized labor — the organized and unorganized, the employed and unemployed, the youth – increasing numbers of whom are being barred from the work force, and the aged who are being thrust out of it, women and the foreign born who are the most ruthlessly exploited. There is widening anticipation that something big and important to their lives will come out of this assembly of delegates representing the biggest single organized movement in the entire country and composed of persons who are absolutely essential to its functioning.

Now, some seven months after the Trudeau government imposed its wages and price program, the worst fears of its opponents are being borne out. Those who most needed relief, the chief victims of unemployment and inflation have had their wages frozen as prices continue to mount and unemployment to spread. And under its cover the Liberal, Tory and Social Credit stooges of the corporate elite, who own the vast productive capacity of the country and control its wealth, are attempting to crush out every single aspiration of the working people for a better life. They have launched, from coast to coast and every level of government, a massive program of cutbacks in all the social services that would wipe out the gains from years of hard fought struggles.

At first confused and disoriented by the demagogy about equality of sacrifice, the working class is now preparing to fight back. Trudeau's policies are beginning to unite the people of this country as never before – and to thrust them out into massive struggles that are already taking on epic proportions.

As this congress meets, it is becoming ever more apparent that with

(Story at W12)

Miners, technicians hold the AIB at bay

By P. Kent

TV viewers of the second game in the Stanley Cup finals in Montreal on May 11, saw the game alright – but without the commercials that pay the government-owned CBC almost a third of a million dollars. Montreal CBC TV employees, members of the tiny 2,700-member National Association of Broadcast Employees and Technicians (NABET), took labor's battle against the wage freeze and the AIB's provocative rollbacks of negotiated increases to the Canadian public in this powerful and dramatic act of refusing to broadcast the commercials.

The day before, in Vancouver, 100 TV technicians walked off the preparations for TV coverage of the United Nations Habitat conference, scheduled to open amidst great fanfare under the auspices of the federal government on May 31st.

The federal board refused to recognize the union's recently negotiated contract that would raise wages, which range from between $6,000 to $14,000 a year under the old contract, up 15% in the first year of a two-year contract. The board has ruled it will allow no more than 13%.

The NABET members' dramatic actions follow on the heels of the first strike against an AIB rollback.

Some 750 miners at Elliot Lake struck the Denison Mines for a week and a half. They inflicted the first defeat of the AIB. It was forced to revise its original decree rolling a 17% increase back to 10.9% at Denison and 12.3% at Rio Algom, upwards to a reduction of 1.3% at both mines.

The Elliot Lake miners' strike held back vicious AIB wagecutting.

This partial victory by the members of Local 5762 of the United Steelworkers owes more to the pressure of the mining bosses who feared losing workers to mines in adjoining areas which pay more, and the absurdity of the difference in the proposed rollback in the two adjoining mines performing the same operations, than to anything the rest of the organized labor movement did to help.

Instead of seizing this incident the United Steelworkers leadership demonstrated only anxiety that the strikers should hurriedly return to work. Such a policy is all the more astonishing in light of the fact that the board has also rolled back an agreement reached by 2,795 members of the Thompson local with INCO that would only have given them parity with the Sudbury local.

The militant actions of the Elliot Lake miners, and now the members of NABET in Montreal and Vancouver, show the need for the CLC to develop a serious strategy that can turn back and defeat the wage freeze. A key component in any such strategy would be the mobilization of all-out support to any local that is prepared to combat the AIB's outrageous rollbacks. That is what the delegates to the Alberta Federation of Labor have just called for.

Italian CP at the crossroads

By Dale Ritch

The working class in Italy is on the brink of achieving an historic accomplishment. In the upcoming general elections June 21, the combined vote of the Communist Party (PCI), Socialist Party (PSI) and other smaller working class tendencies could exceed 50% of the total votes cast.

The question of establishing a government of the workers' own organizations is posed before the masses of Italy.

Recent events have tremendously weakened the power of the established capitalist institutions. The regional and municipal elections of July 1975 were a tremendous setback for the forces of capitalist society and a victory for the PCI which won 33% of the popular vote, only 2% less than the Christian Democrats (DC). Leftist coalitions now control one third of the regional governments in the country and all the major urban industrial centres except Rome.

The setback for the DC in the municipal elections came on the heels of an important loss for the Vatican in a divorce referendum. The DC has also recently been shaken by a series of scandals involving Lockheed and the CIA.

However, it was the country's worst economic crisis since the end of WW II that led to the recent resignation of Premier Aldo Moro's government (the 38th DC government since the fall of Benito Mussolini). The PSI sparked the government's fall because Moro refused to allow the PCI into the government. Italian industrial production is down 9% in the past year and real national income is down 3.7%. Unemployment and inflation are among the highest in Europe and the trade deficit is staggering. The payments deficit for the first quarter of this year was well in excess of that for the whole of last year. The lira has been devalued 30% in the last three months. Prospects for the future are even less promising. Stringent import controls introduced on May 6 have raised the hackles of Italy's Common Market trading partners and will make it extremely difficult for Italy to receive any more transfusions of credit like the $1 billion loan negotiated on March 15.

Thus the working class is posed with the necessity of making much

Continued on page 3

An Italian Communist Party (PCI) demonstration in Rome. The placard reads, "The acute crisis is of Christian Democratic misgovernment".

Defend CLC democracy! Stop constitution change!

By Ross Dowson

While the struggle against the wage freeze and the AIB's provocative rollbacks is uniting Canadian Labor Congress forces as never before, the changes in the constitution proposed by the executive council are a direct threat to that much needed unity.

It is hard to believe that because they have given an unprecedented leadership in this key struggle, the top brass actually anticipates that a majority of the delegates will acquiesce to such proposals that so drastically cut back input from the rank and file upon which the success of the anti-wage freeze struggle so obviously and so totally depends.

As Stelco Local 1005 opposition resolution notes, if passed, henceforth, there will be no resolutions coming from union locals, and the selection of delegates will be at the mercy of the head office of unions.

There is no question that the struggle at the last CLC convention, around the issue of Canadian union autonomy and nationalism, shook the very roots of the old power bloc relationships that had so long served the narrow clique interests and privileges that bureaucrats and their time-servers had structured over the years against rank and file democracy. Developments since then have further undermined the stability and calm necessary for their re-establishment.

CUPE, whose meteoric growth undermining the old machine made it a source of contention in 1974, has now, with almost 200,000 members, surpassed the United Steelworkers as the largest union, with the Public Service Alliance coming third. The Washington office-appointed roadmen of the building trades threatened to split in Vancouver if the autonomy guidelines were enforced. They subsequently attempted to bankrupt the CLC by withholding dues. Since then they have suffered a series of defeats at the hands of the Canadian membership who have set up a Canadian Council. The new autonomous Canadian Chemical Workers Union, headed up by the Washington-fired Canadian staff, is consolidating the Canadian ranks.

Since life itself is sweeping on against it, the constitutional changes are an attempt, by organizational means, to structure in a new stability by shoring up the authority of the head offices of affiliated unions. This attempt to establish a controlled democracy will not go down easily with the militants who will turn out to the Quebec convention, and should be resoundingly defeated now – not put off until a subsequent convention.

In this issue:

Russian workers' struggles . . . p4
Union women's debate p5
History of NDP left wing . . . p6

forward #18 May 1976

Unions support abortion repeal

By Adrian Firan

Among the many issues dealt with by the CLC in their March 22 brief to the Government of Canada, the demand for removal of the abortion laws from the Criminal Code was significantly included. It is refreshing indeed, that in addition to the pressing issue of wage controls, the CLC saw fit to continue to press for the repeal of the abortion law – for the right of women to control their own bodies without government interference. The consistent and serious support of the union movement will be necessary for victory in the struggle for repeal.

While the CLC brief was a step forward, there can be no doubt that those who care more for the undeveloped fetus than for living, breathing women are continuing actively in their attempts to restrict even the availability of legal abortions under the present law.

Scarborough Centenary Hospital in the Toronto area has once again been the target of compulsory pregnancy fanatics.

In 1975, over 200 people paid a $10 membership fee to attend the hospital's annual meeting with the hope of stopping all abortions performed there by replacing the doctors on the Therapeutic Abortion Committee (TAC) with ones opposed to abortion. Pro-repeal forces – those advocating a woman's right to choose – halted this takeover attempt by themselves signing up new members.

This year, however, the so-called "right to life" outdid themselves. Only weeks after the annual meeting was announced, approximately 2100 new applications for membership were received by the hospital. Of these, 1300 were identical mimeographed forms prepared by those opposed to therapeutic abortion under any circumstances. In one instance, a list of 250 names was submitted together with one cheque for $2500 to cover the membership fees.

It was soon obvious that the organizational and above all financial resources being used to stack the annual meeting of the hospital to prevent it from providing safe legal abortions exceeded those of the repeal movement.

Their efforts were countered by the Board of Governors of the hospital. The board refused to accept all new memberships in 1976 to protect the hospital's annual meeting from becoming a forum to debate the merits of one of the many legal procedures authorized by the hospital.

The failure of those who favor compulsory pregnancy to win in this one instance notwithstanding, the force of their attack is a sobering reminder of the strength of the opposition.

forward
#18 May 1976

Proposals for the establishment of a women's department within the Canadian Labor Congress and annual conferences of women unionists were among the recommendations forwarded to the CLC Executive Council by the first Conference of Women Trade Unionists, March 5-7, in Ottawa, which was attended by more than 400 delegates.

What perspectives for working women?

By Alice Klein

1975 may have been International Women's Year, but 1976 has distinguished itself for being the year in which working women have begun to create organizations which can concretely further their interests – across the bargaining tables, in labor policy, in pushing for the organization of the still huge numbers of women yet to be unionized.

The first Conference of Women Trade Unionists, called by the CLC in early March in Ottawa and the founding conference of Organized Working Women (OWW), Toronto area, in late March are examples of this trend (see **Forward** Vol. 2, No. 5). The question that they had to resolve, particularly the OWW conference, was precisely what the role of this nascent movement was to be.

The founding conference of OWW was the culmination of a year-long debate about this question. The differences revolved around whether the founding conference should be restricted to members of certified bargaining units delegated by their union locals or open to all working women. These differences set the pattern for the differing views expressed at the conference itself.

Essentially the debate centred on whether the movement of working women for their rights would take place through the established trade union movement or whether it would bypass it. The conference in its majority correctly saw that the young and fragile organization which they had formed had to gain legitimacy within the union movement. To win adherence to their proposals, OWW had to show the depth of its support within the rank and file of the labor movement itself. Hence the decision to form a delegated organizational structure.

Moreover they realized the hard fact of life that without winning the support of the labor movement to the cause of organizing the masses of unorganized and over-exploited women in the work force, to making equal pay a reality instead of the first-dumped issue on the bargaining table, the 200 or so participants at the conference would be doomed to futile pipe dreams.

Workers Action, published by the International Socialists (IS), however, had a different view of the tasks before OWW: "Was its strategy simply going to be to act as a pressure group inside the *trade union bureaucracy*, presenting endless briefs and passing countless resolutions ultimately filed in the wastebasket?" they decried.

In their haste to condemn the trade union bureaucracy, the IS dismiss the entire organized labor movement in one devastating motion. For example, the resolution on "Organizing the Unorganized" proposes campaigning for parent unions to initiate organizing drives and serve as a resource centre and liaison group for women interested in organizing and putting appropriate unions in touch with such women. If the IS consider it ultimately doomed to the garbage can, then how, in their opinion, will the ranks of the unorganized be unionized? If CUPE, PSAC and the many other already existing unions with women working within their jurisdiction are not going to be the vehicles of unionization for women, who are?

Perhaps they hope to form a new militant rank and file union of women – much like the one formed in the late sixties in Vancouver, which succeeded in forming one local – the one to which the union organizers belonged! A strangely illogical position for a group which, in their workerism, usually are uneasy with feminism except insofar as it relates directly to narrowly defined working class demands.

Old Mole, newspaper of the Revolutionary Marxist Group, had similar reservations about the decisions taken by the conference. They explained their position as follows: "Starting from the assumption that the trade unions are in most cases backward and sexist, that women are not involved or properly represented within them, they (RMG supporters at the conference) argued for proposals which would give the OWW a more initiatory role and a much broader scope of activities."

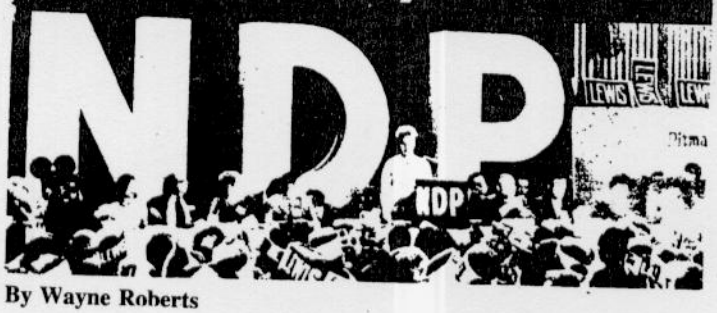
While identifying the problem correctly, supporters of this position went on to define tasks for the new organization which downplayed the onerous work of influencing and changing the reality they describe by suggesting that the OWW should rather extend its slender resources doing strike support work, joining with other women's groups in actions aimed at the government – abortion and daycare for example, struggling against the cutbacks and participating in the general struggles of the trade union movement – specifically against the wage controls.

While these are all laudable activities, the readiness of the RMG to overwhelm a movement barely in existence with not only the tasks of the entire labor movement but those of the women's movement as well, does little to give credibility to their lofty ideals.

What is needed is the development of a movement which can do the basic groundwork of sinking deep roots into its base – which can, through its strength and unity not only shake the labor movement to its roots but also send tremors through the owners of capital whose super profits depend on the super exploitation of women. The OWW is hopefully the beginning of such a movement.

forward #18 May 1976

Cross country with the NDP



By Wayne Roberts

Man.'s Robin Hood?

Manitoba NDP Premier Schreyer's statements favoring income redistribution that would hold the wealthy to a maximum of two and a half times the wages of their poorest employees have been sending shivers up a few spines. Stewart Lyon, leader of the Conservative opposition has even charged that "despite all his protestations that he is a social democrat, he is nothing but an outright socialist. He is trying to bring about social changes through Marxist theories."

President of the Winnipeg Chamber of Commerce, M. Michener may be closer to the mark. "This sort of thing is aimed strictly at the party faithful. He has to placate the left-wing and this is the only thing that keeps them happy". Schreyer's proposals come as little more than a gloss to his capitulation to, indeed embracing of, Trudeau's controls and calls for austerity. In the context of his all-out support for these measures and his insistence that "lifestyle" is the problem, they are just rhetoric to make the medicine go down.

Criticizing the wealthy for their display of conspicuous consumption and their opulent life styles, he worries: "then I can't see any co-operation in the fight against inflation forthcoming from those who earn an average wage." Even his tax surcharges on the rich were defended as "psychologically necessary" to make federal controls acceptable.

Will his measures give some substance to these pretences at egalitarianism? A *Southam* release on the budget concludes that he is a "pretty dull version of Robin Hood" after all. Tax surcharges, ostensibly designed to soak the rich, in fact raise the taxes of a family making $30,000 a year by $150, and companies with a million dollar taxable income by $20,000, basically a licence for exploitation.

Contrary to the hopes of many right-wing New Democrats, the controls are no back door to planning or equality, even of the share-the-poverty variety. On the contrary they are the battling line for all those concerned with equality. No cosmetic can alter someone on the wrong side of that battle.

Ed Schreyer, NDP Premier of Manitoba, in recent convention debate against Ed Broadbent, challenges federal NDP decision to oppose anti-labor wage control scheme.

Gov't expels Douglas

By Paul Kellogg

Rosie Douglas' forced emigration to Jamaica April 30, marked the culmination of the Canadian government's four year campaign to get rid of the well-known black activist.

The only concession made by the government to the long struggle to defend Douglas, was not deporting him to his home in Dominica where he faced certain persecution and possible death. "The Dread Act passed in 1974 gives anyone the right to kill anyone else for being a member of an unlawful association." (Rosie Douglas, quoted in the **Toronto Star**, April 28).

Douglas' expulsion clearly exposes the double standard of so-called "justice" in Canada. Douglas, a black and a socialist, is refused permission to stay in Canada. His prosecution is explained only by labelling him a "threat to national security", a charge that has never been explained, let alone proven, and which Douglas has been prevented from defending before the Supreme Court.

By naked contrast, Quang Van Dang, ex-general in the South Vietnamese army – one of the most reactionary and corrupt refugees of the US puppet regime – continues to reside comfortably in Montreal, granted continual stays-of-deportation by the same Canadian government out of concern for his life should he have to face justice in Vietnam and account for his crimes.

Cuddling the arch-criminal Quang while pushing socialist Douglas to a risky and undetermined fate, the Canadian government's immigration policy stands exposed for the reactionary and anti-working class law that it is.

Food policy discussed

The scandalous intricacies of what passes for "supply management" in the Canadian egg market reveals the shell game that capitalist agriculture imposes on producers and consumers alike. One year after the mass destruction of Canadian eggs, Canada is now importing "cheaper" US eggs, with an appropriate surcharge going to the marketing board responsible, even as protesting Canadian farmers are forced to give away eggs as the only option open to them following the dictates of this same board. Meanwhile 300 thousand tons of skim milk powder are being hustled abroad by the Canadian government for one-tenth of the Canadian price for use as pigfeed. NDP MP Nystrom's sensible and humane appeal that the milk powder be granted free to school children, especially in deprived areas, has been ignored.

The heightened consumer and small farmer awareness that these revelations have provided makes it an appropriate time for the NDP to clarify its agricultural and food distribution policies. The March issue of *Viewsletter*, a federal forum for policy discussion in the NDP, has presented a number of statements on precisely this question.

In stark contrast were the statements by Donald Macdonald, the NDP's Ontario agricultural critic, and the article by the Union of Radical Political Economists. According to Macdonald, the central issue is the preservation of foodlands, which should be protected by a government landbank. He even hopes to roll back two million acres recently taken out of agricultural use, implausible to say the least. Although he recognizes that the key problem behind land sales is the low income of farmers, he offers precious little as a solution.

By contrast, the article by URPE is based on an analysis that "we cannot reform our food system to prevent further food crises without fundamentally restructuring the economic system upon which the food economy is based." As for vanishing food land they point to the US government's policy of spending five billion dollars to keep fifty million acres out of production. It is not lack of land or technique which is responsible for food prices but the profit system.

Once this central point is recognized, the NDP can begin to offer a program that can deal with the question. No policy can begin to solve the problems of farmers or food prices without tackling the corporations and their extensions in the government and marketing boards, their control of everything from feed prices to wholesale prices to the hoisting of consumer prices.

Real issues behind Waffle's expulsion

By Ellie Kirzner

(from Forward, May 1976) This is part three of our series on the problems of building the left in the NDP.

We ended our last article at the 1971 federal convention, where Jim Laxer came second to David Lewis for leader of the Party. We now turn to an analysis of how that convention came to alter Waffle's course.

The party right hadn't been sleeping all the time that Waffle was broadening its support. Clearly perceiving the effectiveness of Waffle's appeal for an independent and socialist Canada, the most far-sighted on the party right-wing decided that without an organized intervention at the convention committed to the principles of spruced- up gradualism, the Waffle might take all.

Underground caucus

Thus it was that Desmond Morton, a member of the Federal Council and a solid fixture on the right of the party, rounded up his co- thinkers across the country including members of the trade union brass, and organized a caucus which lived a great part of its life underground.

Although the stated aims of the group delicately referred to presenting an exciting alternative to the Waffle, careful euphemisms couldn't masquerade the fact that caucus members were not engineering a healthy debate among socialists but a search and destroy mission for Waffle.

In a great fury of speech-making and article-writing, Desmond Morton initiated the campaign to discredit the politics of the Waffle, charging that they had imported "Americanized socialism", in order to destroy the careful moderation of "Canadian socialism". The Waffle's "irrational" dogmatism, Morton ranted, committed them to the destructive fantasy of blind nationalization. In trying to "wrap their sorry little package of defunct ideas in the Canadian flag", they were cynically manipulating the emotions of the Canadian people, in order to pursue better their "middle-class self-interest."

It wasn't merely the indignity of public slander that the Waffle confronted as it prepared for the convention, but this hidden phalanx as it lined up its delegates and prepared its resolutions – generating an atmosphere of hysteria behind closed doors while the Waffle was organizing democratically and in full view.

Greener pastures

And yet, despite all the orchestration, Laxer's showing demonstrated that a large part of the party was committed to the Waffle's program.

When the Wafflers looked around that convention, however, they saw something quite different. The party suddenly looked impenetrable to them, because its leadership looked impenetrable. Its leadership, in turn, appeared impenetrable because it was allied to a trade union bureaucracy which controlled a huge block of often hand-picked delegates. Wafflers began to despair that they could ever move beyond their convention support. And so, at the moment of its highest triumph in the party, the Waffle began its search for greener pastures.

A short time after the convention, the Waffle reformulated its strategy, and renounced 'time-wasting' contests within the internal structures of the Party. Here the Waffle revealed that it had all along been operating under a timetable that was overly condensed. It had wanted win quickly in a process that had demanded endurance. Tending to see its fight in the NDP as a question of taking over the apparatus of the Party, it missed its cue. What the Waffle hadn't had time to discover was that the issue staring them in the face was the long-term historical problem of winning the adherence of workers away from the Reformist outlook of the present NDP and trade union leadership. After all, there was good reason why *(Steelworkers' leader)* Dennis McDermott could get away with declaring the Waffle "a national haven for every social misfit in the Party". He was able to exploit the unevenness of the radicalization which swept the student milieu to revolutionary conclusions but affected the political consciousness of most wage-workers to a far lesser extent. Exploiting the hysteria that the media had created about these new Waffle "crazies", trade union officials were able to feed the prejudices of workers.

Shortcomings

In many senses the Waffle had come to see the shortcomings of the NDP as a vehicle for the socialist transformation, but its reaction to this new knowledge was knee-jerk and not reasoned.

Having gained an appreciation of the problems of the NDP they avoided the rather glaring fact that the most politically conscious workers in Canada owed the party their allegiance. Instead of continuing the protracted fight to win the ideological leadership of the NDP, Waffle substituted a turn toward seeking the direct support of workers outside. Here Waffle indulged itself in romantic fantasies seeing themselves as shining white knights of the working class, able to alight on trouble spots without benefit of genuine ties to the labor movement. Where once it had offered the possibility of a relationship between the radicalization and the workers' movement within a mass labor party, it now retreated to a "picket-line" strategy.

Theoretical garb

This new "workerism" was dressed in a theoretical garb that seemed to have leaped fully clothed from the looms of the Waffle leadership. Laxer began to speak at every opportunity about the American government's plot to "de-industrialize" Canada and urged that Waffle would subsequently be able to make gains only if it bypassed the metropolis and took itself to the "hinterlands" – the single-industry smaller centres of Ontario.

Suddenly membership in Waffle no longer became a matter of agreeing with the program for an independent socialist Canada; it became total dedication to the “hinterland” strategy. Trotskyists and other NDPers who agreed with the program but had other approaches were no longer welcome as the Waffle began to harden. More and more major political decisions were the sole domain of the leadership whose cliquishness and factionalism undermined the free exchange of ideas that had made Waffle meetings so inspiring to NDPers.

Picket line duty

And so it was that the only mass force in Canadian society able to argue for socialism to thousands of people found all its energies exhausted by picket line duty at the Texpac plant in Brantford. This and other excursions into the working class milieu were accompanied by heavy attacks on the official trade union leadership, attacks which were launched by the Waffle from a position of extreme weakness and which provided an awaited opportunity for the Lewis leadership to begin the crack-down.

In March of '72, Stephen Lewis, in bellicose tones, declared it “intolerable for the NDP to speak with two voices,” and lodged his now-famous “Morty Shulman can get away with it Jim Laxer can't" complaint. The tone was set – not for a political debate – but for organizational repression. One of course couldn't merely purge a caucus that had won 42% of the vote at the last provincial convention; a "case" had to be constructed – one that would be organizational in nature and palatable to a party membership which believed in internal democracy. Thus the party brass issued the charge that Waffle had created a "party within a party".

Crack-down

Despite Waffle's lapses into adventurism, it is clear that the repression was a factionally-inspired affair whose excuse was the poor showing of the NDP in the '71 provincial election and whose driving force were the threats of the trade union brass still smarting from Waffle attacks. All that was left was to formulate a resolution on Waffle's expulsion that would be acceptable to those hundreds of party members still sympathetic to them. Desmond Morton who realized how tenderly one had to tread was instrumental in formulating a resolution that had the cunning of enough ambiguity to manipulate party members into believing that Waffle's politics could remain in the party even though its organizational structures would be disbanded. This combined with Lewis's threat of resignation ensured victory at the June '72 Provincial Council where Waffle was disbanded by a vote of 217-88.

Shortly after Waffle split into those who wanted to stay in the party and continue the fight and those who thought a socialist party could be constructed in total hostility to the NDP.

No shortcut

The Waffle's history since its ouster from the party has been a sad tale progressing from, increasing sectarianism to ultimate disintegration demonstrating that there is no shortcut around the NDP. Its days within the NDP were a testimony to the power and possibilities of a left opposition. Caucuses within the party will now be able to stand on the shoulders of the Waffle experience, building oh its successes and avoiding its mistakes.

One thing has become clear – the fight within the NDP is a long-term one – aimed not so much at the capture of the party apparatus as the ideological leadership of the working class. It is this perspective that will sustain future socialist caucuses in the party.

In the last article we will examine the state of the left in the party since the Waffle's expulsion.

forward #18 May 1976

Contribution to debate

Que. labor and the PQ

A rally of the Quebec Federation of Labor near Montreal.

By John Morgan

As Quebec's public sector workers united in the Common Front of the three major union centres gird themselves for a possible general strike in a bid to wrest a $165-a-week minimum salary from the Liberal government, and in the midst of massive one-day work stoppages by teachers and nurses in defiance of repressive new laws, the question of the need for an independent political labor party on the provincial arena has become a vital defensive requirement.

Championing the demand for a mass labor party in Quebec (the Quebec-NDP remains stunted and isolated from all but a few unions) are the various currents of the revolutionary left including one Trotskyist current which enjoys significant influence within the secondary leadership of the three major union centres.

But with popular support for the independentist Parti Québécois increasing to the point where one opinion poll found it would win over the Bourassa government in an election, the practical realization of the creation of a labor party initiated by the mainstream of the labor movement has been all but shunted aside for the period ahead. Even though the PQ has voted with the government for strike-breaking special legislation barring walkouts by teachers and suspending civil servants' right to strike, it has at the same time denounced the legislation and put forward scurrilous half-way monetary demands in order to preserve its labor base of support.

The PQ leadership under Levesque, Parizeau, etc. can be characterized as petit-bourgeois, with the perspective of transforming the PQ into an established capitalist party. It will exploit the workers' desire for independence and reforms, but will refuse direct support from the union movement. The unions have no control over the PQ (as they do the NDP) and the PQ owes no allegiance to the unions, the only independent force of Quebecois workers. But today as the PQ draws close to power and speaks of its new "maturity" and adapting to "the real situation", it is still much more than its leadership: it enjoys the largest membership base in the history of Canadian political parties, it possesses a solid proletarian Francophone vote and last but not least has a powerful public voice in the daily tabloid, **Le Jour**, left with a clear field since the demise of the labor weekly **Quebec-Presse**.

Le Jour of April 29, for instance, is evidence of how the PQ is no ordinary bourgeois party, but a contradictory movement which socialists in Quebec must learn how to intervene in and around: on this day a "special section" appeared entitled "Six years of labor legislation under Bourassa" exposing the anti-labor nature of the Liberal government, which has passed 15 labor laws in the last six years, 11 of which were special laws ordering ends to strikes; it publishes an entire centrespread reprint of a militant speech by CSN leader Marcel Pepin in which he denounces the "boss government" of Bourassa and bemoans the lack of worker deputies in the National Assembly – all this, and pages of advertisements from union centres, union locals and PQ constituency clubs. The fact is, the PQ is much more apparently a labor party in composition and presentation than even the genuinely labor-based New Democratic Party in English Canada. Its members and voters incorrectly consider the PQ – even if they may concede it is not really "socialist" – at least the labor party for the present, and in any case the first step to what is after all a radical demand for the independence of Quebec.

How has the revolutionary left in Quebec met the challenge of the PQ? The left has successfully raised the demand for a mass labor party to the status of burning issue at every trade union convention over the last ten years. It has been opposed by a large bloc of trade unionists who look to the PQ, including FTQ leader Laberge who now openly calls for support to this party. For years the union centres have mandated their political action committees to open the discussion on direct political action, directly challenging PQ supporters, but for years these committees have been quietly sabotaged. The most recent, and most serious, effort has been a proposal for a series of "colloques" or round-table discussions on political action to have been held on May 1 and 2 with participation from the three major union centres.

The "colloques" were promoted by the Trotskyist group around the journal **Tribune Ouvrière**, which in its April issue criticized the union bureaucracy for failing to organize them in any serious way. This journal however reports an important development in the formation of the Regroupment of Union Militants in January, when a meeting of 80 heard a number of union leaders speak. Pierre Lemaire of the Alliance des Professeurs de Montréal and Jacques Beaudoin of the Montreal Transport Workers favored taking the initiative by drawing up a program of workers demands and running worker candidates in the next provincial elections. This program would be submitted as a contribution to a proposed Inter-union Committee representing the three major centres. However, others in favor of a mass labor party such as Postal Workers leader Marcel Perreault saw the formation of a labor party only "in the long run". In later issues of **Tribune Ouvrière**, Public Services Employees Federation (CSN) leader Jean-Paul Lévesque and CSN political action officer André L'Heureux, both known champions of an independent labor party, nevertheless stated that it would be an error to run worker candidates in the next elections as they would be "isolated" and furthermore that "it'll be necessary to support independence via the PQ on the tactical plane" in the immediate future.

The Regroupment of Union Militants growing base of support however attracted the denunciation of the daily **La Presse** labor writer and of PQ leader Rene Levesque who branded **Tribune Ouvrière** as composed of "anarcho-extremist fringe elements".

The journal **Libération** published by La Ligue Socialist Ouvrière, which traditionally views the Quebec labor leadership as bureaucratic as any in North America in spite of the fact it went to jail for its defiance of strike-breaking laws in the 1972 public sector strike, and has opened a discussion of class struggle politics, now looks favorably on the Regroupment of Union Militants. However, it has made no mention of the scheduled union "colloques", projecting instead the

→P2

Lévesque

establishment of an Inter-Union political action committee, toward which there is no movement at this time. **Libération** writer Paul Kouri supports the demand for a mass labor party based on the unions in the March issue, but he too makes no mention of the fact that an important layer of unionists are active within the PQ in the midst of thousands of rank-and-file workers and that it is in this area that disillusionment with the PQ, especially after it takes power, will lead to the formation of cadres who will lead the future labor party of Quebec. But **Libération** is isolated from the labor movement and is likely to remain so.

Even more removed from the labor movement is the Groupe Marxiste Révolutionnaire who in the pages of their journal **Combat Socialiste** attack the idea of a labor party based on the unions as a "reformist" demand put forward by those who favor the establishment of a "social-democratic bureaucratic" party which in no way will represent the interests of Quebec workers. They counterpose to this their demand for a "Revolutionary Labor Party", unable as they are to grasp that 1) even the formation of a non-revolutionary mass independent labor party is an important step for workers to take and 2) that such a party in Quebec would be far from the classical "social-democratic" party, being formed in a time of union militancy and the resources for a broad revolutionary left wing already in existence. Interestingly, **Combat Socialiste** counterposes "stimulating mass extra-parliamentary mobilizations" and advocates promoting the "autonomous role of the student political movement" as the key factor in "overcoming the union bureaucracy and bourgeois nationalist formations."

The labor party question is reflected in a distorted way by the important Maoist currents in Quebec through such journals as **Bulletin Populaire** and **En Lutte!** They oppose any role of the unions in the formation of a labor party which they see as "replacing one set of sellouts with another". **En Lutte!** in particular reveals a disdain for the radical dynamic of Quebec nationalism in its call for "A Canadian Proletarian Party". A condition for the establishment of this party would be a "fusion of the marxist-leninist movement and the workers movement... by the workers vanguard coming over to communism." This is the extreme expression of sectarianism which is general in the Quebec left toward the broad radicalization taking place within the trade union movement.

What is not recognized by the left is that this process of radicalization extends to workers and unionists who are now members of the PQ and whose expectations are shortly to be dashed on the rocks of the PQ's drive for electoral success. Once in power, Lévesque's attempts to create a "civilized" form of independence in the context of capitalist property relations will cause the contradictory class forces of the PQ to split the party. Unless revolutionary socialists attempt to elaborate a method of intervening within and around the PQ, at the same time refusing all support to the party, in order to be with the class they aspire to lead, the experience of an aborted drive for independence and "labor" politics will result in a setback for the Quebec labor movement.

NDP, Québécois, labor hold May Day celebrations

By P. Kent

International Workers' Day, May 1st, was celebrated in several centres across Canada this year for the first time in decades. While only in some places did the actions take on a broad democratic united front character they were nonetheless testimony to the increasing combativity and the desire for unity that is spreading through labor's ranks.

Some 2,000 marched through Winnipeg's downtown streets on May 1st in a demonstration organized by the Manitoba Federation of Labor and the Winnipeg and District Labor Council. The central theme was opposition to Ottawa's wage controls. NDP MLA Ken Dillon in his address to the Thompson May Day rally, dissociated himself from Manitoba NDP leader Schreyer's support of Trudeau's program terming it "a bad mistake."

The Toronto celebration was addressed by Labor Council President Sam Fox, UE Director of Education, Val Bjarnason, Jim Bentley of the plumbers, CUPE's Tom Edwards, and Oswaldo Cortes of the Chilean United Labor Central (CUT), and chaired by Toronto Alderman Dan Heap.

Opposition from right wingers in the labor council placed a question mark around the plans for the Toronto rally up until the last minute. In this situation several groups, including NDP ridings and the Toronto Socialist League, got structured into their own projects. Nonetheless the rally was a success and speaks well for a more powerful and united action next year.

A key element in the revival of May Day has been the struggles of the Quebecois. This year saw May Day celebrated in the climax of a 48-hour general strike by some 187,000 teachers, hospital workers, Hydro-Quebec employees and civil service employees protesting the Bourassa government's anti-labor, anti-strike legislation. The strike was the largest in Quebec since 1972. Nearly 20,000 workers and students in Montreal, and tens of thousands in dozens of other Quebec cities, marched and demonstrated in unity on May 1st.

Editor's Note: Murray Dowson, the author of two articles on Trudeau's economic theories that have appeared in the last two issues of *Forward*, is the former editor of the first labor paper in Canada that raised the slogan of an escalator clause in union contracts tied to the cost of living. That was back in the forties. This demand was adopted, after much discussion by the most advanced sections of the union movement. It is now known popularly as the COLA clause.

forward
#18 May 1976

Forums discuss issues

By G. Donnelly

April 30th saw the Forward Forums present its annual May Day forum. Murray Dowson gave a wrap-up of the previous year's activities as well as the prospects for growing political struggle in the coming year.

In his analysis, Dowson presented listeners with an overall historic perspective regarding Canadian Trotskyism's long-term struggle. Dealing with the experiences of the movement as the International Left Opposition in the thirties he then went into its crystallization as a force for revolutionary change.

In line with the current interest in labor's battle to stop the wage controls and cutbacks, the speaker dealt at some length with the accomplishments of the labor movement, its current actions and the struggles ahead for it, ending with an optimistic projection of the socialist future.

Another key forum was given by Dale Ritch on the struggle that is developing currently in Spain. This struggle is of great interest to Canadian activists trying to understand some of the upheavals going on now that the contradictions in the Spanish state have become glaringly evident. The speaker gave a brief history of the new motion in the Spanish working class and the prospects before it.

Ross Dowson dealt with a topic of considerable interest to activists in Canada on May 23rd with a discussion on the crisis of Canadian Maoism. He discussed certain transformations and struggles going on within the Maoist movement and its relevance for activists in Canada.

Coming up in the next month the Forward Forums will be presenting a number of interesting speakers and topics. On May 21st John Darling will be speaking on the current political crisis in Quebec and its future prospects, focussing on the debate for a labor party for Quebec.

May 28th will feature a presentation on the CLC convention. This is an important coming together of the labor movement in a year that has seen major CLC-sponsored demonstrations against the cutbacks and wage controls. What was accomplished there? What prospects are now opening up? Where will the working class go?

The current crisis in Italy will be discussed on June 5th. This last month has seen the fall of yet another Christian Democratic government – what are the Communist Party's prospects in the coming election? How is the left responding to the new situation? What are the lessons to be drawn for activists in Canada? Robert Kasher will be presenting this forum for discussion.

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Forward fund drive gets reader support

By the Editors

Our thermometer tells us that we are halfway through our fund drive that began on April 15. So far the response has been astounding! With six weeks left in the campaign, we have raised $4295 in pledges or approximately 78% of our goal of $5500.

This year we went out on a limb. Even after failing to achieve our fund goal last year of $5000, we decided to shoot for $500 above that this year. This amount is needed to cover increased printing costs and to proceed with plans to increase our subscription base.

We felt justified in striving to achieve this goal for basically three reasons:

1. Because of the importance of meeting the growing response in the labor movement to socialist ideas arising from the current surge in struggles against the capitalist governments' and bosses' offensive against workers' wages and social services.
2. Because of the correct political lines that **Forward** has consistently presented on important Canadian issues such as the NDP, struggles in the labor movement, Morgentaler and the abortion issue, Canadian nationalism, and developments in the student movement.
3. Because of the past history of our loyal supporters who have always helped generously when we have appealed for money, combined with our solid, dedicated volunteer staff that has produced **Forward** for two years now.

Over the past year, **Forward** has reached ever-widening layers of the Canadian working class. The number of **Forward** readers has increased greatly through our mass distributions. We trust that our new readers will continue to show the same generosity as the earlier supporters of **Forward.**

The drive ends June 18. We need another $1200 to hit $5500. We are now looking to you our readers, to raise this amount and put us over the top. We want to continue **Forward** and we know you do too.

Why not send us a cheque or money order payable to Forward Fund Drive?

With our hard work and your financial support, we will continue **Forward** to a socialist Canada and a socialist world.

June/72 Edn Dimension inside front cover

EXCHANGE

The National Question

John Warnock's article in your March issue, Imperialism and the Canadian Left, is a very welcome contribution. Our appetite is now well whetted for the follow-up which he promises will outline the program of an anti-imperialist struggle, and presumably the forces that will rally in its course and establish a socialist Canada.

While it may well have been frustrating it was certainly not un-useful to have developed his arguments around the Moore-Wells book Imperialism and the National Question in Canada. As one who is thanked by the authors in the frontispeice "for time, interest and constructive criticism" I should say that the essence of my advice to Moore was that he should completely re-think the whole matter—along the line of certain articles by myself that I loaned him which expressed substantially the same points so well developed by Warnock. It is necessary to clear away a whole accumlation of debris so that we can get to the essence of the problem and commence building a useful structure.

Warnock's aim is to aid the left to overcome its present disintegration—to resolve the national question. Thus he stands on solid ground in protesting Moore-Wells' lumping together all the various groups in the radicalization, without distinction, as "left nationalists," and resorting to what he correctly calls slander, when they state that underlying their opposition's position is national chauvinism. There is no question that such actions constitute a barrier to the clarification of the real differences and make the needed unity extremely difficult.

By the same token it would seem necessary to protest Warnock's own cavalier characterization of the Trotskyite organizations as anti-nationalist. It is also necessary to protest his tendency to equate small organizations with sectarianism.

Warnock notes the existence of five organizations that call themselves Trotskyist. But strangely he does not show that he has the slightest inkling as to why a fragmentation of what was once united in a common movement has taken place. Suffice it to say that one of the key issues in this process was the national question in Canada, with the majority leadership of the League for Socialist Action –(LSO) suddenly, in 1972, reversing field and adopting a position that is substantially the view expressed in the Moore-Wells pamphlet. One of the five, the Socialist League and its monthly publication Forward, is in substantial agreement with Warnock's critique of this pamphlet.

Marx, who Warnock would appear to clear of any taint of sectarianism, never belonged to anything but small and impoverished organizations. While it is a fact that there can be no socialist Canada until the Canadian workers organize a mass party that has that aim and has the support of the decisive majority of the working class, Warnock seems to evaluate organizations primarily from the point of view of their size. In reference to the Communsit Party of Canada he says that "Its strength among the Canadian working class in the 1940's is now finally recognized." However it was then already following the party line from Moscow and, certainly with the adoption of "collective security", a euphemism for "peaceful coexistence", and Popular Frontism, firmly in the camp of what Warnock says can only be described as social democracy.

Smallness and sectarianism are by no means the same thing—the one can result from the objective situation beyond the control of the socialists and their organization, the other is a disease which if socialists do not innoculate themselves against, can destroy even a large organization. One could define sectarianism as a refusal to support or to struggle for partial (that is, reforms) and transitional demands; as a tendency to turn one's back on such mass reformist organizations as the NDP and the trade unions, and as a tendency of an organization that does not yet have hegemony over the left but acts as if its concept of itself is already the reality.

At one point in his contribution Warnock asks, what happened to the radicalization of the late 60s and early 70s? To be sure it developed largely in the youth and the campus milieu. But can it be dismissed as Warnock appears to do with a quote from Lenin that would characterize that radicalization as one of petit-bourgeois driven to frenzy, as a fad?

That radicalization presented the entire left with a tremendous opportunity—to link it up with the NDP and the forces of organized labor—to help raise the level of the whole, and to sustain it and carry it forward unitl such time as the main batallions of labor, under the crisis of capitalism, would commence to move out as they are now beginning to do. To be sure important elements in this radicalization made some serious errors but the primary factor which has resulted in considerable dissipation, was not the fault of the new radicals, but must more properly be placed at the door of the leadership of the NDP and the trade unions.

But no doubt Warnock will come to grips with this problem in his follow-up article.

—Ross Dowson,
Toronto.

LET'S HAVE A

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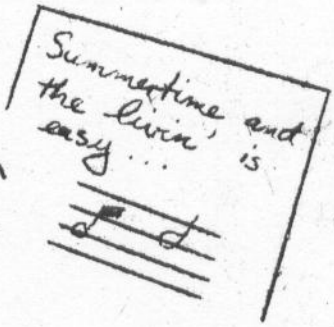
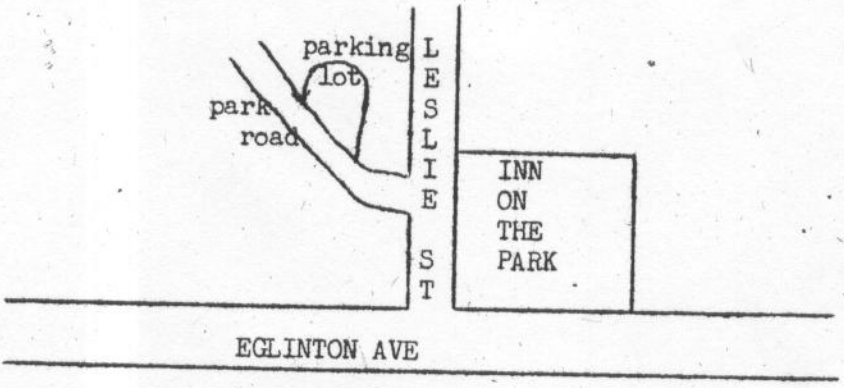


WHEN? Sunday June 8, 2:00 p.m. - 7:00 p.m.

WHERE? Wilkett Creek Park - a beautiful, varied, and well-supplied parkland located on the west side of Leslie just north of Eglinton.

For the sake of convenience, we will arrange to meet at 2:00 p.m. at the first parking lot on the north side of the park road, from where we will be guided to a picnic spot.



We are asking that all participants bring some food that can be shared together - sandwiches, desserts, fruit, etc. We will supply some basic items such as lemonade, ice, etc. We anticipate a real picnic joy will result.

The day's activities will include:

- -hiking
- -sing-songs
- -games
- -something for everyone, children and adults

For further information, call:

SOCIALIST LEAGUE at 595-1284

June 1976

. Strikes

. Arrests

. Repression

In Poland

Defend the democratic right to strike

The following is an account of the strikes and the subsequent arrests of workers in Poland in June and July of this year. The issue at stake is the democratic right of workers to strike, a right which is not recognised in Eastern Europe and the USSR. The world labour movement must come to the the defence of the Polish workers who are presently suffering a massive and organised campaign of repression.

PRICE INCREASES AND STRIKES

June 24. The Polish prime minister, Piotr Jaroszewicz, announced higher food prices for the country. Meat was to go up by sixty percent, vegetables by thirty percent, sugar one hundred percent, butter and cheese fifty percent, fish sixty-nine percent.

June 25 The broadest strike-wave since 1970 stopped production throughout Poland. Many factories in Warsaw responded quickly to the new increases:

The **Ursus Tractor Plant** employing five thousand people came out. During the night they stopped traffic on the Poznan-Warsaw railway line, derailing one train and dismantling the line, in order to draw attention to their strike and demands.

Others followed their example: the **Zeran Plant** which makes Polski Fiat cars (fifteen thousand workers), the **Karol Swierczewski Plant** (five thousand workers), the **Tewa Transistor Factory** (about two thousand workers, mainly women) - all halted production.

The strike spread rapidly to factories in Poznan, Wroclaw, Gdansk, Lodz, as all the major cities were affected by stoppages and demonstrations. The **Elta transformer factory** in Lodz stopped work and presented its demands for a review of the increases to the government; th **Gdansk shipyards** and **Gdansk refinery** struck during the day.

In Radom, a demonstration took place outside the local Party headquarters. The headquarters was burned, riots and clashes with the police took place and the workers threw up barricades on the streets. At least two people were killed, seventy-five policemen injured, 8 seriously. The demonstrations ended after 24 hours, 3hours after the price rises were rescinded. The local mojor described the demonstrators as "rioters and hooligans... who no longer have a place in Radom society... parasitic and anti-socialist elements... hysterical women and drunken hooligans."

In Plock fifteen hundred people demonstrated with red flags, singing the International. That same day, 24 hours after the announcement of price increases, Jaroszewicz went on television to announce the rescinding of the increases pending consultation with the population. Two days later they were reimposed at about half the privious level.

When one considers that the average family in Poland spends forty percent of its budget on food and that the price rises would have in some cases doubled the cost of living, one begins to understand the militancy of the workers' response. Dissatisfaction is high because of the housing problem (the number of persons per housing unit is the highest in Europe), lack of consumer goods, inflation (the money supply has more than doubled in four yeats). Despite the promises given after the last strike of December nineteen seventy, social benefits, like health, have been cut, and prices have increased thirteen percent in 5years. Given the lack of any democratic forms through which they could influence decisions (the party is elected with a 99 percent vote), they turned to the traditional weapon of their class: the strike.

REPRESSION

Victory fires were lit in the streets after Jaroszewicz announced that the government was taking back its decision; the workers rightly viewed this as a victory. At this point the police intervened. There were brutal charges, systematic beatings and tear gas.

In the last days of June the people of Radom, an industrial town one hundred twenty km. south of Warsaw, saw dozens of bloodied young people coming out of the police stations:some could hardly walk, others tried to hide their wounds under bloodied shirts. Four hundred workers were interrogated; on the 19th of June, 6 were put on trial and accused of "attacking the forces of order... taking an active part in workers' street demonstrations... destroying socialist property..." They received savage sentences:

Zigmund Zabrowski - 10 years prison, 10 years loss of civil rights, after prison to be placed in a "Centre for social readaptation" for an undetermined period.

Ryszard Gnidzien - 9 years prison, 7years loss of civil rights followed by placement in a "Centre for social readaptation" for an undetermined period.

Tadeus Mitaz - 8 years prison.

Wojciech Mitak - (18 years old) 6 years prison.

Stanislaw Gosha - 5 years prison.

Henryk Bednarczyk - 4 years prison.

No-one knows what the "Centres for social readaption" are; this is the first time they have been heard of. A concentration camp for political prisoners has been constructed near Radom, surrounded by barbed wire. Many of those arrested were transfered from there soon afterwards to the prison of Bialystock, three hundred km. east of Radom.

July 20. 7 workers involved in the Ursus demonstrations were tried by the Warsaw regional court and accused of sabotage under Article 220 of the Polish penal code. The public, and foreign journalists, were not admitted to the trial. Proof of identity was established by the prosecution on the bases of photographs taken by the police during the strike. One of the accused tried twice to say that he was beaten during his interrogation. The president of the court did not allow him to make his declaration.The following were sentenced to 3-5 years: Miroslw Chmielewski, Gregorz Zielonka, Eugenius Dzielak, Czeslaw Milezarek, Wojciech Czarniecki, Jozef Jaworski, Miroslaw Karbowiak.

July 23and 24. The authorities carried out massive arrests on the basis of photographs taken by the police, some of them from a helicopter which circled the demonstrators. About six hundred workers were arrested from the Ursus plant, several hundred at Radom, One hundred fifty workers at the Plock refinery and thirty at the Plock agricultural machine plant.(Plock is a petrochemical centre, where the "pipeline of friendship bringing Soviet oil ends) one thousand more workers have been thrown out of the plants for 3 months during which time they cannot work. They will be allowed to return to work after 3 months only on condition that they receive a lower salary. The authorities have denied the arrests of strikers and demonstrators, saying that "only people who profited from the events to commit offences against common law such as pillage, violence, sabotage of railways, etc." were tried. Replying to the question why foreign journalists were not admitted to the trial, Janiurek stated:"the cases have been and are public, but it is up to the tribunal to decide who will or will not be allowed into the hall."

The official press has been inundated with organised expressions of support for the government and compulsory demonstrations have been

organised in favour of the Party. On June 28, for example, workers in Warsaw were told to leave the factory and meet at a certain place. Here a roll call was taken, small flags and badges were distributed. During the march and at the entrance to the stadium the lists of workers were again checked. The speeches stressed order and discipline. Although planned to the last detail, these demonstrations elicited so few applause that the TV cameras could get very little good footage.

RESISTANCE

Expressions of solidarity for the Radom strikers spread throughout the country. Szczecin workers found a train which was delivering timber to a furniture factory in Radom and wrote in enormous white letters on the sides of the carriage: "People of Radom, the population of Szczecin is with you!" Vehicles with Radom number plates were applauded in the towns and their drivers showered with gifts and questions.

Jacek Kuron, a prominent Polish oppositionist, has written an open letter to Berlinguer, the secretary of the Italian Communist Party, asking his intervention on behalf of the Polish working class, against the campaign of lies and slanders by the authorities. His appeal was published in **Il Tempo** and **L'Unita**. Kuron(40 years old) was called up for 3 months military service in Asia on July 18.

An appeal has appeared signed by 13 Polish intellectuals, (including Edward Lipinski, the Polish economist and author of an open letter only a few months ago demanding an effective socialist democracy) to all those who "have at heart democratic socialism, to all those who defended those persecuted in Chile and Spain, Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union." The appeal states that: "It is our duty to oppose the definition of workers' demonstrations against social injustice and authoritarian power methods as 'hooliganism'. It has to be clearly underlined that the responsibility for violating laws during the Ursus events and elsewhere in Poland, lies with the administration, which by its behaviour has undermined the essential forms of workers' democracy, has reduced workers' councils created in October 1956 to nothing, and has transformed trade unions into dead and fictitious bodies subordinated to the power apparatus."

The United Metallurgical Federation (FLM), Italy's most important union, has sent an official protest to the Polish unions.

A petition signed by prominent French intellectuals has been presented to the Polish embassy in Paris.

The Italian Communist Party has sent a letter protesting the Polish government's calling the strikers "hooligans".

— — —

We call upon Trade Unions, organizations and individuals to write or phone the Polish embassy and protest against the massive repressions against Polish workers, Demand the immediate release of the imprisoned strikers and demonstrators.

Write to:

POLISH EMBASSY, OTTAWA, CANADA.

POLISH EMBASSY, WASHINGTON D.C., USA.

Please send us copies of your protest statement and write to us about forming an ad hoc Committee to Defend Polish Workers.
Contact us for further information.

Committee in Defence of Soviet Political Prisoners
P.O. Box 1 30
Station M
Toronto, Ontario
Canada

This leaflet has been prepared by the Committee in Defence of Soviet Political Prisoners as an act of solidarity with the Polish workers.

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

forward

Vol. 2, No. 7(19) June-July 1975 Toronto 20 Cents

Gov't stall prods controller strike

By P. Kent

An across-Canada strike of 2200 air traffic controllers early in June was forestalled by the federal treasury board representing the government-owned Air Canada. Ottawa retreated before the leadership of the Canadian Air Traffic Controllers Association on the key question of bilingualism. It agreed to suspend any extension of bilingual air traffic control beyond the present five small Quebec airports and to appoint a commission of inquiry into bilingualism and safety in air traffic duties.

That the strike may be on again on June 21 is primarily due to this retreat and a whole series of previous retreats by government-appointed Air Canada officials before the forces of English-Canadian chauvinism. The interval has only served to embolden reactionary forces who are claiming that air traffic safety requires the recognition of only one language – that language being English.

Francophone pilots at Air Canada number about 110, or less than 7% of the 1700 plus, employed by the airline, reflecting a built-in prejudice that Francophones are less competent than Anglophones. Air Canada has long been bringing pilots in from Britain rather than offering jobs to Quebecois.

The federal government's Official Languages Commissioner Keith Spicer apologized to a Commons Committee last month that "the root of the Air Canada problem is that language training is not acceptable to Air Canada." To Spicer's claim that "we've been doing everything we can, but a fundamental change of attitude in the organization is necessary," a Liberal MP from Montreal charged "You haven't changed anything. After five years you're merely noting failures, not doing anything constructive."

The only time that French is allowed on Air Canada flights is when the crew is communicating with passengers. At all other times the unwritten law has been that English only be used. But on April 20 a directive was added to Air Canada's Flight Operations Manual that put this law into writing. The directive reads: "The corporate policy specifically defines the technical language to remain English. English only will be used on the flight deck, with the exception of passenger announcements."

The primary force that got Air Canada officials to spell out this directive is the Canadian Airline Pilots' Association which has been and English. But surveys show this claim to be untrue, almost everywhere in the non-English-speaking world with regards to domestic flights, and untrue in many countries even as regards to international flights. Officials at the bilingual (French and English) Charles de Gaulle airport (Paris), with some 10 million passengers a year, state that the charges that the situation there is unsafe are "false, absolutely false."

The Quebec regional director of CATCA denounced the decision of the association's leadership to strike over the question of bilingual communications as "provocative and irresponsible" and as "a strike against Quebec... (and the vote) a vote based on ethnic racism." The first strike vote revealed a sharp division, with Quebec controllers

Continued on page 2

→p. 2

(19)

Cross-Canada strikes against wage freeze

By Paul Kane

Ottawa's ever-expanding machine of high-paid bureaucrats, armed with the AIB wage freeze regulations, are attempting to pin down and discipline rebellious union local after local from the west to the east coast. They are attempting to turn back the mounting efforts to break through the freeze in the face of continuous rises in the cost of living.

The success of the first strike against an AIB rollback of a negotiated settlement by a Steelworkers local at Elliot Lake has given a powerful lift to the struggle against Board dictates. Many locals which had been chafing under rollbacks, with the adoption of a decision to prepare for a general strike by the assembled delegates at the CLC convention, are preparing to take the struggle to a new level.

Two major battle fronts right now are at Thompson in Manitoba and Kitimat in BC, and there is an increasing number of skirmishes such as those at Roberts Bank and Sparrow, BC, Hinton, Alberta, and St. John's, Newfoundland.

On June 3 some 1700 workers at giant Alcan Smelter in Kitimat, BC walked off their jobs at the same time as over 6000 workers at three Alcan plants in Quebec hit the bricks to bring to a halt more than 60% of the smelting capacity of the second largest aluminum producer in the world.

The Kitimat strike is in defiance of an order by the BC Labor Board and Supreme Court injunctions threatening heavy penalties.

The Kitimat workers, who broke away from Steel to form the independent Canadian Association of Allied Chemical and Smelter Workers, have struck to reopen a contract signed only five months back. Under the pressure of the wage freeze, and faced with a company threat to lock them out, they signed a two-year contract which the AIB arrogantly intervened to rollback from 11% to 8%. A settlement for 15.1% for the first year and 10% for the second, won by the members of the independent Canadian Pulpworkers Union at the nearby Eurocan pulp mill, and agreed to by the Board, has proved highly inflammatory of the Kitimat workers.

The ranks voted down by an almost two-to-one majority three consecutive Labor Board orders to return to work. On June 12, under instructions of the Socred Attorney General, the RCMP moved in to smash a picket barricade and arrest and charge 32 picketers with obstructing a private roadway. The arrested pickets' place has now been taken over by a rotating 8-man squad of members of the Federation Syndicale Sector Aluminum, who on legal strike in Quebec have constituted themselves as a legal picket line in this BC community. The company, backed up by the AIB

Continued on page 6

Black students demonstrate in Soweto, South Africa, against the imposition of Afrikaans, the language of the ruling Boer minority, in the schools. Savage police assaults upon the youths have left 1000 wounded and 100 dead.

Municipal issues center of debate

BC left emerges at NDP convention

By Gord D

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By Gord Doctorow

"The Open Caucus can provide a base in the party... for the left... with a perspective of an ongoing left caucus." That was the way Hilda Thomas, a leading figure in the left wing of the BC NDP and in the party's Women's Committee, described the left caucus that formed at the BC NDP convention in Penticton on June 11-13 in an interview with **Forward**.

Basing itself on a 5-point program – "democratic decision-making and accountability within the party", full backing from the party for NDP entry into municipal elections, support for organized labor including the CLC's campaign against the wage freeze and general strike action if it occurs, support for women's rights as exemplified by the party's Women's Committee, and allocation of "substantial resources... at all levels of the party for an ongoing socialist education campaign for members and supporters..." – the Open Caucus issued a call for support which received 300 signatures including those of activists in the BC Federation of Labor, in the Women's Committee and Rosemary Brown, among others. Caucus support at the convention attained a base of about one-third of the 900-plus delegate votes for the left-sponsored resolutions and executive slates.

Len Guy, the secretary-treasurer of the Federation of Labor, ran on the Open Caucus slate for the position of second vice-president, a post traditionally reserved for the top officer of the BC Fed. However, Guy was defeated by a party establishment candidate, Bob Williams (the former MLA who gave up his seat so that party leader Dave Barrett could pick it up in a recent by-election). The party brass let representatives of the BC Fed know that they would not accept Guy as the labor representative for this post.

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In this issue:

ONDP convention report.....p5
Capitalism causes wars.. ....p3
American Revolution.....p7

forward #19 Jun-Jul 1976
Editor: Wayne Roberts
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Controllers strike Que

Continued from page 1

backing the English chauvinist leadership and their supporters in the Canadian Air Traffic Controllers Association. The government's capitulation to the CATCA leadership and its agreement to appoint a commission of inquiry with Montreal lawyer John Keenan heading it was blown up when the majority of the Quebec membership of CATCA, along with Quebec pilots in L'Association des Gens de l'Air, denounced Keenan as having represented the Air Line Pilots' Association in its opposition to the use of French in the five small Quebec airports where it is now in use. L'Association des Gens de l'Air declared to the government that it would in no way cooperate with the inquiry if Keenan was in charge. It was with that the CATCA leadership moved again towards strike.

With strong support of such reactionary organizations as the Canadian Legion and much of the mass media the CATCA leadership is attempting to buttress its opposition to the extension of bilingualism to Quebec airports, the new Mirabel airport uppermost in mind, with the argument that airports elsewhere, in the interests of safety, are unilingual and English. But surveys show this claim to be untrue, almost everywhere in the non-English-speaking world with regards to domestic flights, and untrue in many countries even as regards to international flights. Officials at the bilingual (French and English) Charles de Gaulle airport (Paris), with some 10 million passengers a year, state that the charges that the situation there is unsafe are "false, absolutely false."

The Quebec regional director of CATCA denounced the decision of the association's leadership to strike over the question of bilingual communications as "provocative and irresponsible" and as "a strike against Quebec... (and the vote) a vote based on ethnic racism." The first strike vote revealed a sharp division, with Quebec controllers voting 75% against striking and controllers elsewhere in Canada voting 76% in favor. The vote on the tentative offer was nationally 70.2% in favor, Quebec only 36.8% in favor.

There is little doubt that should there be a strike on June 21 the Quebec controllers will boycott it, as their leaders said earlier they would recommend. They will have the support of the Quebec labor movement, both the CNTU and the QFL, who have expressed their solidarity with the Quebec controllers and have demanded that Ottawa continue to introduce bilingual air traffic control instruction at Quebec airports. And they should have the support of all principled union militants across Canada.

BC left

p2

Guy's disfavor with the brass stems from his record of criticism of the way the former NDP government passed its Labor Code without consulting the Fed and his vocal opposition to the back-to-work legislation that the government imposed last year. Furthermore, the International Woodworkers of America and United Steelworkers of America brass blocked against his leadership in the Fed, which will likely be contested in the November Fed elections. After Williams' victory over Guy, the Fed leaders refused to contest positions among the members-at-large. Despite this, Jack Munro of the IWA and Monty Alton of the Steelworkers contested and won.

Hilda Thomas, a leader of the BC NDP left wing.

The Open Caucus managed to elect several of its candidates as members-at-large.

The convention resoundingly adopted some very good resolutions sponsored by the caucus: support for Indian leader Leonard Peltier in his struggle against deportation into the hands of the FBI, support for the Alcan workers in Kitimat in their strike against the AIB, support for the striking BC Railway unions, support for 100% taxation on profits made on land speculation, and a call for the repeal of abortion laws from the Criminal Code and an end to the persecution of Dr. Henry Morgentaler.

One of the major areas of controversy concerned NDP entry into municipal politics. In response to direct and indirect moves by conservative elements in the party oppose and roll back the efforts activists who have succeeded building up the Vancouver A Council, whose policy it is to NDP municipal slates dur elections, the VAC distributed special convention supplement. contains an open letter appealing delegates to open up a discussion this question, presents a history the CCF/NDP municipal experien in Vancouver, and argues for inc pendent political action by t working class through runni official NDP slates armed wi socialist solutions to the problems capitalist exploitation in the areas housing, food prices, and social se vices.

Key to the success of the Va couver Area Council in maintainii an active base and putting out tl monthly **Vancouver Democrat** h been the policy of opening mee ings to all members in the Va couver area ridings. The conve tion throttled this policy by voting t restrict all area councils solely t delegates from individual constitu ency associations. They voted dow a resolution that would have seen th central party organization provid funding and help for candidates run ning in civic elections under th NDP banner. However, a resolu tion giving a 50% vote of the riding in an area council the power to dis band the area council did not receiv the two-thirds majority required fo a constitutional amendment although more than 50% voted for it

"We still intend to run ir municipal elections," vowed Hilda Thomas reflecting the sentiment o the party socialists.

forward #19 Jun 1976

NDP poses ongoing focus for left politics

By Ellie Kirzner

As we saw in our last article, the Waffle was a victim of the unevenness of a radicalization which swept the student milieu to socialist conclusions but left working people relatively untouched. It was this unevenness which offered the lever the NDP leadership so willingly grasped to expel the Waffle. This unevenness also took its toll on the whole left, sometimes feeding illusions that shortcuts were possible around the organizations of the working class, and at other times, forming the basis for cynicism and sectarianism. It was the tension between new-found revolutionary ideas and this sectarian atmosphere which cut adrift the important journal **Canadian Dimension** from the NDP, which impelled the Saskatchewan Waffle to throw in the towel in its fight against the opportunism of the Blakeney government and ultimately to leave the party, and which fostered among the revolutionary left a general disdain for the NDP.

Unable to analyse this temporary isolation from the working class, the Ontario Waffle, too, succumbed to fantasies.

In conference after the fateful 1972 provincial council meeting, the Waffle leadership described the glories awaiting outside the NDP – quick gains to be made in community organizing, single-industry towns, and cultural nationalism. A "movement is growing", they extolled; it but remained for the Waffle to break free of the NDP straitjacket. To work in a party which had taken such a sharp turn to the right, they reasoned, was both frustrating and fruitless. Nor, they argued, was it possible to build a nationalist movement in the stomping ground of an American-dominated union bureaucracy.

And so it was that the Waffle leadership, Pied Pipers without guile, led the majority of the Waffle membership out of the NDP to the tune of an easy route to the working class. Since leaving the Party, the Waffle, transformed into the Movement for an Independent Socialist Canada, sponsored a number of important educational activities, carried one mildly successful electoral campaign, and ultimately splintered and disintegrated.

What the Waffle leadership learned, the hard way, was that political homogeneity could not be effected through the lionization of a brilliant leadership or through cliquish manipulation. But most centrally, the Waffle's dissolution demonstrates that there is no road to the working class that avoids the complex corridors of the NDP.

Leaving the NDP, however, did not go unopposed within the Waffle. A group calling itself the "Stay and Fight Caucus" urged that the provincial council defeat had been a short term one, that the decision could be appealed at the provincial convention, that the Waffle still had huge reserves of support within the party, and that ultimately the fight was of necessity a protracted one in any case. Besides, they argued, it was possible to exist as a loose caucus and still conform to the strictures of the provincial council resolution.

Much of this the caucus proceeded to demonstrate at the December 1972 provincial convention, where it surfaced as the Left Caucus, won nearly one-third of the convention on its energy resources nationalization resolution, figured prominently in a rank-and-file revolt of trade unionists against the practice of appointing delegates, and elected a member to the provincial executive.

Even Stephen Lewis had to admit that the caucus strength rested on upwards of 200 delegates.

One can appreciate the extent of this modest effort against the background of bitterness and fear which was the residue of the Waffle expulsion. Nonetheless, the pressures of sectarianism were no less kind to the Left Caucus than they were to many others of the left. A foreboding of things to come, Steve Penner, making the caucus' first press announcement answered requests for a political description, by declaring the group "extremist."

The leadership of the Left Caucus provided the subjective pre-condition for its failure. Complaining that the Waffle had absconded with most of the general left sentiment in the party, many caucus members urged that it become an explicitly revolutionary formation and proceeded to sharpen their tools for a head-on collision with the NDP brass. Even the caucus' newsletter reflected a preoccupation with showdown politics, being as it was resplendent with attacks on the leadership's reformism and bureaucratism, and sparse in concrete policy issues.

But there were also sound objective reasons for the caucus' failure. The fall-out caused by the Waffle's repression had contaminated the atmosphere; NDPers feared to situate themselves in direct contestation with the leadership, and so, while there was widespread enthusiasm for left policy proposals, many hesitated to engage in a sustained and organized fight. In that sense, the leadership had clearly won the round. Many left party members began to focus their activities solely at the riding level where they built left enclaves and were able to avoid the entire issue of a coherent left wing.

Oblivious to the prognosis of old Wafflers and despite the absence of any organized expression, the radicalization was continuing to seep into the party. In a bid to loosely capture it, David Lewis ran his 1972 election campaign on the "corporate welfare-bums" theme and the 1974 one more precisely against corporate control. The 1974 Ontario convention reflected the rise in strikes and the fight against compulsory arbitration. Here no one was more surprised than Stephen Lewis himself at the thunderous applause he received when he departed from his prepared text to declare that society was "crazy" because of "capitalism".

At the same convention, an important document, **For a Radicalized, Revitalized New Democratic Party,** emanated shyly from a private caucus of party activists and MPP's. It charged the party caucus with trying to win elections with catchy slogans rather than firm socialist policies, trying to sneak into power rather than preparing the population for the struggles that lie ahead.

Following a rebuke from Stephen Lewis, the core of this group issued a statement backtracking from the spirit of the manifesto and generally separating themselves from its controversial thrust. And so, the signers, haunted by the ghost of the Waffle repression left the document hanging in mid-air, where it remains to this day – a fine document silenced through leadership pressure.

• Events in British Columbia were taking a different turn as a result of the election of the NDP to political office. Not a year had gone by when the new government was challenged by the BC women's rights committee to heed a convention call for the establishment of a Women's Minis-

→p. 2

The founding convention of the New Democratic Party, Ottawa, 1961

p. 2

try to implement the NDP program on women. While the government continued to insist that such a ministry was a "low priority", the NDP women's committee continued publication of its journal **Priorities** and deepened its analysis of feminism's relationship to a socialist transformation.

But opposition within the BC party was not limited to the women's arena. No less than the party executive introduced a resolution into the 1974 convention censuring the government leadership for ignoring convention decisions. The resolution was defeated despite a substantial 202 votes to 368. A compelling document written by 12 executive members entitled **Turn Toward Socialism** asked whether the actions of the NDP government were in fact laying "the groundwork for a new socialist society," or whether they were strengthening the capitalist system. As in the case of the Ontario document, an organized caucus failed to consolidate around it.

It was from the BC milieu that Rosemary Brown's campaign for federal leadership emerged. Carrying the mantle of feminism into the mainstream of NDP politics, Brown conceded the great debt she owed to the organized power of NDP women. But at the same time, she became a spokesperson for all the major issues that were formerly the property of the Waffle – public ownership, workers' control, self-determination for native people and Quebecois, and the involvement of the masses in the creation of socialism. Suddenly all the candidates were "socialists", reaching deep into their ideological baggage and dusting off old radical formulations. Unfortunately for the others Rosemary Brown was more than a candidate, she was the symbol of a budding socialist movement stretching across the country – and meeting democratically in convention caucus. Her stunning 658 votes – to Broadbent's 948 – served as a dramatic rebuttal to all those who thought the Waffle repression had laundered the party of all radical sentiment. While no permanent organization has emerged from the Brown caucuses, it is clear that its successes have overturned the heritage of fear left by the Waffle's repression, and will undoubtedly inspire new left formations.

Meanwhile, recent political events have re-shaped relationships within the party. Schreyer's endorsation of federal wage controls has created an unprecedented rift between the trade union movement and the NDP government in Manitoba. Suddenly the wheel has come full cycle and some of the same labor leaders who let loose the party apparatus on the Waffle, are now aghast at Schreyer's "betrayal". Formerly content to buttress the parliamentary opportunism of the NDP leadership, the labor brass created its own Frankenstein monster – Schreyer who totally capitulates, Blakeney who equivocates and Lewis ever-poised to vacillate, as his response to the teacher's strike demonstrates.

The recent call of labor leaders at the CLC convention for labor to reassert its command over the party brings the question of program to the fore.

But such a call has explosive implications, for in the midst of the mobilization of the working class against controls, and the intransigence of the government, there is little hope for the social peace so dear to the hearts of the NDP and trade union leadership.

Unionists may very well interpret the call to move into the NDP, the way it was never meant – as an invitation to reconsider the entire course of the party. Here the possibility is open that unionists will meet the left of the NDP in a much more fraternal way than in Waffle days, laying the basis for an alliance that is a crucial component in the struggle for socialism.

Fourth of four articles.

Election mood deflected debate in ONDP convention

forward
#19 Jun-Jul 1976

By Harry Paine

The eighth convention of the Ontario New Democratic Party provided little avenue for the obvious willingness of delegates to attack the major problems facing Canada's working class.

Three factors foreshadowed the Kingston gathering:

1) the continuing crisis of inflation and unemployment and all that goes with it (wage controls, cutbacks and rocketing prices);
2) an unprecedented willingness on the part of the trade union movement to fight back;
3) the probability of the NDP coming to power in Ontario in the near future.

It was the third factor that dominated the minds of the Provincial Executive when they drew up the agenda for the convention. Of the 25 or so hours of convention hall time, only about 10 were devoted to discussing the 151-page book of resolutions sent in from riding associations.

The composite resolutions presented to each delegate as they registered had effectively cut much of the guts out of the original wording. A complicated procedure of having to refer back to the resolutions committee with specific instructions for rewording made it very difficult to get the resolutions changed.

The two most important areas of discussion were wage controls and social service cutbacks. The convention went on record as being unequivocally opposed to any provincial participation in the federal wage control program and also, after having the resolution referred back for re-wording, opposed all cutbacks directed against the working class. The original resolution did not oppose the cutbacks in principle and was posed in the framework of accepting the cutbacks. The response of the delegates was radical in this instance.

Stephen Lewis set the tone of the convention Saturday morning with an electrifying speech that brought the delegates to their feet in several standing ovations. He unveiled an already worked-out program for the forthcoming election. The popular H.E.L.P. issues that carried the NDP into the position of Official Opposition in 1975 are going to be hammered at again.

The only change will be the substitution of Health for Housing. The other issues being Energy, Land and People. These are the key issues that confront the people of Ontario and will certainly mobilize the members and supporters of the party.

The 1975 election and the subsequent attacks on the working poor of Ontario had brought new large new layers of working class members into the NDP. Especially evident were the teachers, who met in caucus several times during the convention. About 65 strong, this caucus set itself up as an ongoing group to promote the interests of the NDP in the teaching profession.

Nevertheless, attempts by several delegates to get the convention committed to support for the proposed CLC general strike against the wage freeze were defeated, albeit narrowly.

It appeared that the massive propaganda against bigness, especially big unions, had made itself felt among the delegates. "Responsible government" of all the people was the theme that thwarted these moves.

No small blame can be attributed to the role of trade union staff delegates in backing up the NDP leadership on this issue. Despite the resounding militancy of the CLC delegates only three weeks earlier, in posing general strike action and in moving into the NDP to get it to support labor's struggles, top officers of the OFL spoke in favor of a composite resolution which opposed Trudeau's wage freeze and against amending it to back strike action of the CLC. This sort of opportunism has only served to weaken labor's position and foster the anti-labor backwardness which still festers in the NDP.

Women too fared poorly, with several resolutions designed to give more weight to women in the party going down to defeat. The Women's Caucus was an experience in frustration to most of the participants. The general decline of the women's movement across Canada, because of its failure to define itself in political terms, had emboldened the anti-women forces in the NDP.

Yet the sentiment for a clear socialist alternative was very much in evidence among the delegates. When Ed Broadbent advocated nationalization of Imperial Oil, he got the most thunderous roar of approval of the whole convention.

Many discussions were taking place in the halls and sales of Marxist and socialist literature were brisk at the tables outside. But no concrete form was given to this sentiment in the convention itself. Unity, in the face of the election prospect, cowed many potential critics within the party – even those who had at previous conventions made open declarations of socialist criticism.

What made this situation even more peculiar was the fact that the CLC convention in Quebec City, less than a month ago, took positions that were far in advance of those proposed to the NDP. Endorsation of a general strike strategy, a far-reaching program on women, and the now-famous Manifesto, which is at least an attempt to present an alternative program on inflation.

It must be recognized that any sharp, divisive criticism would, to the majority of NDPers, have appeared to be nit-picking. Lewis and the Caucus have been consistently hammering the Davis government at every turn. The issues being fought are real class issues that affect the already oppressed working poor. The only weakness in the campaign is the failure to present an answer to the problems of inflation and unemployment. This would lead one to suspect an NDP government might just bend to the cutbacks and make them more tolerable.

This loophole in our program has to be plugged, and the convention could have gone a long way to doing that. The "unity" theme served not to strengthen the party in face of the critical issues; it obfuscated the process of serious educational work and open discussion which are indispensible requisites for party activists to be able to clearly counterpose socialist solutions to the ongoing crisis of capitalism.

Ontario NDP leader Stephen Lewis was pressed to firm up his position against the wage freeze by Ontario convention delegates.

forward #19 Jun-Jul 1976

CLC convention forges unions into a political movement

By Gord Doctorow

Last month's convention of the 2.2 million-strong Canadian Labor Congress marked a turning point in the labor movement's struggle against the corporate bosses and their stooges in the Liberal-Conservative-Socred parties. The outcome of the decisions so militantly taken at the convention was to move the CLC from the position of a defensive economic organization to the direction of a political movement. That was how the 2400 delegates responded to Trudeau's wage freeze and the social service cutbacks.

"Ultimate Goal"

CLC president Joe Morris initiated the theme of this convention by marking the labor movement's "ultimate goal" of "the pursuit of power" with a lengthy Manifesto. This Manifesto committed the CLC to an all-out offensive to defeat the wage freeze and to a national program and bargaining position to take on the government within the post-controls period. This strategy projects demanding a full role for the labor movement in planning Canada's economy to serve the interests of working people. While the idea of a collaboration between government, labor, and business is embedded in the Manifesto, the document disclaims any idea of labor's being used as a tool in the service of business. The Manifesto was posed as labor's *political* response to the government's offensive that went beyond simple opposition to controls. Although a significant minority of delegates opposed the Manifesto because of the references to a tri-partite arrangement between government, labor and business and to corporatism, a decisive majority expressed their confidence in the leadership by voting for it.

The action program projected out of the Manifesto gave the CLC Executive Council a mandate to call a general strike if and when it saw fit. Although some militant delegates wanted to set a date for a general strike, the overwhelming majority agreed with the sentiment expressed by UAW leader Dennis McDermott who favored calling a general strike under the most propitious circumstances rather than risking a premature action which might rupture labor unity. At the close of the convention, the newly elected Executive Council met to prepare the conditions for holding a general strike.

Leaders in Lead

The feeling of militancy and unity behind the leadership arose from the CLC leadership's record of taking open mass action against the capitalist governments to protest the wage freeze and cutbacks. The delegates, lifted by these militant acts of solidarity, expressed their confidence in the leadership by returning Morris to the presidency with a very high majority (1492 to 375) and by accepting all the executive slates without amendment, even where challengers of stature, such as Bob Powers of PSAC and Homer Stevens, president of the Fisherman's Union contested for vice-presidential posts.

Ironically, it was this same sense of militancy and confidence that created a storm of protest when the leadership put forward a policy resolution to implement constitutional changes which would deprive affiliated locals of the right to send delegates or initiate resolutions to conventions. Such prestigious figures as QFL president Louis Laberge and CUPE national president Grace Hartman echoed the overwhelming opposition of the delegates by denouncing the changes as undemocratic. The leadership was forced to withdraw the proposal.

Canadian Labor Congress President Joe Morris

Canadian Autonomy

A recurrent theme of the convention, which found expression in the debate on the constitutional amendments, was Canadian union autonomy from "international" union head offices. For example, Lorne Robinson of the Carpenters' Union declared: "Those recommendations (constitutional amendments) mean that you are asking me to go back to my local union and tell them that in order for them to send a resolution to the house of labor in Canada they must postmark the letter in Washington and get their OK." Other delegates stated similar fears and noted that delegate representation would be more heavily represented by head-office-picked delegates – head offices like those of the construction trades and rubber workers whose US bureaucrats vehemently opposed the modest Canadian autonomy provisions of the CLC.

The convention voted to re-affirm its stance on Canadian autonomy and resolved "that the officers of the CLC assist on request the Canadian section of any affiliated union which is endeavoring to achieve the CLC's standards for Canadian autonomy."

A couple of incidents at the convention demonstrated the depth of militancy on this issue. When United International Paperworkers Union president Joseph Tonelli came to the platform to give greetings as the fraternal delegate from the AFL-CIO, 60 Canadian Paperworkers Union delegates booed him down and led another 200 sympathetic unionists out on a walkout to demonstrate their outrage at the high-handed, bureaucratic way in which the UIPU settled its relations with the CPU when it split off.

The Quebec Hotel Workers union handed out a leaflet to the convention assembly complaining that their US leadership had turned their union into a "ghost" because, aside from collecting union dues, the leadership never made contact with these highly exploited workers. Having failed other channels, the workers appealed to the CLC to investigate their grievances. It remains to be seen whether the CLC executive will make good in the resolution to assist Canadian sections.

Women in CLC

About 10% of the delegates were women. Though still under-

→p. 2

represented, they constitute a powerful force in the shaping of the labor movement. For example, a resolution providing for child care for delegates attending CLC-sponsored educational functions "where the demand warrants it" was rapidly attacked by both men and women as not being affirmative enough. So the qualifier was dropped. More significant was the adoption of a comprehensive 14-point declaration of rights for working women which commits the CLC to making important structural changes. A review of this document appears elsewhere in this issue of **Forward.**

Progressive Resolutions

The convention adopted some far-reaching resolutions of a progressive character. Among them was a policy statement on energy resources which adopted: nationalizing Imperial Oil, developing all new energy sources through a government body, opening the books on the real oil and gas supply situation, setting up government agencies with authority to regulate all energy exports from Canada and to oppose any moves towards continentalism, etc.

Unconditional Support

The political action resolution reaffirmed the CLC's traditional support for the NDP, encouraged affiliation of locals (only 11% of CLC membership is affiliated to the party) and allocation of personnel and money from locals for electoral activity, and directed the CLC executive and officers "to work in closest liaison with the federal executive of the party." Although the overwhelming sentiment of the delegates was to give unconditional support to the NDP, many delegates voiced their criticisms of the pro-controls policies of the Saskatchewan and Manitoba NDP governments. George Semeniuk, president of the Saskatchewan Federation of Labor, advocated support for the party but asserted that "We have to get our people in and set their policies and get them into line."

Reflecting the Communist Party point of view, UE delegate Val Bjarnesson attempted to discredit the NDP and counterposed the CP's traditional class collaborationist "anti-monopoly alliance" whose doors are always wide open to the "progressive" wing of the capitalist class. This met with indifference from the delegates. On the ultra-left side, Greg Collins, representing a Toronto CUPE local, encountered noisy hostility when he attempted to discredit the NDP as "liberals in a hurry" and to make a fundamental criticism of social democracy. A revolutionary speech, but totally lacking any transitional programmatic ideas which could meet the delegates' concerns.

Clive Ballantine, business manager of the Toronto Building Trades Council, told anti-NDP delegates to quit whipping the NDP because it was the only friend labor has in Canada. He pointed out that labor made a decision at the 1961 founding convention of the NDP not to dominate the party. If the "intellectuals" have taken over, he said, it was labor's fault, and now labor should move into the party and "work like hell to make it what we want it to be."

The convention's overwhelming support for the NDP as labor's political instrument was shown when NDP leader Ed Broadbent was introduced as "our leader" by Joe Morris to tumultuous applause followed by a prolonged standing ovation at the conclusion of Broadbent's address. And this, perhaps more than anything else, signalled the turn of the labor movement towards becoming a genuine political movement.

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forward #19 Jun-Jul 1976

CLC rally acclaims struggle of women

By Chris Judge

The Canadian Labor Congress, at its recent convention, issued a policy statement that opened the doors for working women to begin the struggle for real equality.

The CLC, in this statement, declares that all workers regardless of their sex must have equality of opportunity and treatment in all areas, and recognizes that discrimination against women workers is continuing today despite the heightened awareness of both men and women.

Women workers are not content with low pay and unfair treatment and are organizing to fight for their rights. The CLC's Conference of Women Trade Unionists and the Organized Working Women's Conference, both held in March of this year, marked a milestone in the fight.

Because of pressure from feminists within, the CLC has come to recognize the need for immediate action and states, "We believe that a long-term program of practical international action will improve the situation of women and increase their effective participation in all sectors."

The statement which was overwhelmingly adopted, calls for: elimination of all forms of discrimination on the grounds of sex, the guarantee of women's right to work and the encouragement of women's participation in occupations traditionally open only to men.

While recognizing the need for equal pay for work of equal value in all jobs, the Congress document states that special measures must be taken to raise the pay levels of women who work in women's "job ghettos" and for workers who are employed on a part-time basis.

To establish these rights the Congress declares that "all necessary measures should be taken to promote, in particular, through government action, equal opportunities for women, such action to include legislation relating to equality of opportunity for women workers, and effective machinery under public control, for its enforcement; and to ensure strict application of the principle of non-discrimination in all sectors and especially those under public control."

Noting that women have from birth been socialized into accepting the traditional role of housewife, the Congress has declared that measures must be taken to ensure equality of opportunity in education and retraining programs and to educate the public to women's changing role in contemporary family and social life.

In further recognition of this the statement continues with a series of points advocating freedom to choose numbers and spacing of children, 24-hour daycare, maternity leave and recognition of maternity as an important social function, equality in social security and pension schemes.

The document points out that "the position of women cannot be changed without changing also the role of men in society and in the family", and calls for flexible working hours and shorter work days for all workers to encourage sharing of family responsibilities and tasks. This article emphasizes that "because maternity is a social function, all women workers shall be entitled to full maternity protection, the costs of which should be borne by social security or other public funds or by means of collective arrangements."

To ensure that the declaration is acted upon, the statement calls for "positive *special treatment* during a transitional period aimed at effective equality between the sexes" which "shall not be regarded as discriminatory." It puts forward a long-awaited affirmative action proposal for the establishment of a national CLC Department on the Status of Women Workers. This department is to develop and coordinate research, planning and action on equal rights for women workers and to be provided with the necessary funds and staff. In addition, the CLC action proposals pledge to place "equality of opportunity and treatment for women workers on the agenda of future sessions of regional advisory committees and regional conferences..."

This policy statement must not become another document which only pays lip service to the needs of women. Now is the time for action. Women must work through the labor movement to win their basic rights.

The government continues its brutal harassment of Dr. Henry Morgentaler. It has postponed a retrial for performing an illegal abortion ordered by Justice Minister Basford until next September.

forward #19 Jun 1976

Native Indian culture affirmed as communal socialist tradition

By Harry Kopyto

As the Native people are preparing to enter into negotiations with the federal government to determine the property and political rights they will enjoy in the future, a major political discussion is emerging around the issue of socialism.

James Wah-Shee, president of the Indian Brotherhood which represents the native people of the Northwest Territories – the Dene nation – has launched an attack against George Erasmus, who is running for his post, opposing Erasmus' socialist outlook.

"It's a transplant of an ideology that is totally non-Dene. Who ever heard of socialism in the communities? No one did."

Wah-Shee contends that the Native tradition of sharing is different from socialism, and that outside agitators are exploiting the Dene people in promoting socialist ideology.

Erasmus' socialist orientation is most significant since he is a leading figure in the struggle to ward off the destruction of his people's way of life by the proposed Mackenzie Valley pipeline. Erasmus contends "We need a comprehensive settlement that includes political rights and that is comprehensive enough that the Dene as a nation can continue. Our people are defining that settlement in more terms than just land."

In believing that independence can only be achieved through socialism, Erasmus is not only expressing the reality of his people's social struggle, which pits them against US energy cartels, but he is basing his campaign politically and legally on centuries of Native communal practice.

This fact was brought to the attention of the MacKenzie Valley pipeline inquiry, known as the Berger Commission, in a dramatic presentation by Leroy Little Bear, Director of Native American Studies at the University of Lethbridge and a Native specialist in law. In a highly publicized address to the Commission, Little Bear aptly refuted the contention that socialist principles were foreign to the Dene nation, or that they were inferior to the principles of civilized common law nations.

He told Berger that the meaning of past court decisions on Native land claims is that "the British, by simply setting foot on North America and planting a rag attached to a pole on the shores, acquired title to Indian lands" and that "the British crown, prior to the discovery of North America, has always held title to the lands of North America..." Little Bear said this is a misuse of the doctrine of discovery, which he said was intended to regulate disputes between European powers in their dealings with the Native people.

Former Brotherhood President James Wah-Shee attacks Erasmus for his socialist outlook.

He said misunderstanding also has arisen from the fact that Europeans tend to think philosophically in linear concepts – from A to B, to C to D – and, for example, think of time as flowing in a straight line. Once the river of time has flowed past, he said, it is gone forever.

But for many native people, said Little Bear, "It is a circle. Every day is not a new day, but the same day repeating itself." Linear conceptualizing leads Europeans to think of singularity. "For example, there is only one great spirit, one true rule, only one true answer... Westerners relate themselves to only one aspect of the whole at a time and have a hard time looking at the total picture."

Given this difference of approach, said Little Bear, the British thought of land title as passing from owner to owner, with the law basically being concerned to speed up transfer of land ownership. Registries are kept, and if you trace ownership back far enough, "one would discover that it is the crown or the monarch... The source of title is the crown."

At this point, Little Bear drew a classical picture of the socialist principles underlying Native societies, where the tribe in its totality, subject to religious qualifications, owned the land and each member enjoyed the right to make use of the property and to draw from it all the profit, utility and advantage. Indians think of land as being communally owned, Little Bear explained, rather like the idea of joint tenancy in common law. "If one attempts to trace the Indians' source of title, one will quickly find that the original source is the Creator, the Great Spirit."

What did the Indians think they were surrendering when they signed treaties? Little Bear asked.

"They shared with the Europeans in the same way they shared with the animals. But sharing cannot be interpreted as meaning that Europeans got the same rights as any Native person, because they were not descendants of the original grantees... Sharing certainly cannot be interpreted as meaning that one is giving up his rights for all eternity."

Besides, Little Bear said, the Indians could not have felt they were giving up the title of the land to the whites because a transfer would have had to be also obtained from "the dead, the yet to be born, the plants and the animals," all of whom, within the animistic religious belief of the Natives, were co-owners of the land.

Little Bear asserted that the social and religious outlook of his people was no more ridiculous than that of the westerners. "Do biblical stories make more sense? To native people they sound rather ridiculous and make-believe."

George Erasmus seeking election as president of the Indian Brotherhood.

Little Bear discounted various legal theories developed to rationalize the denial to Native people of their right to their land, pointing out how each rationalization – adverse possession, sovereignty by conquest, conveyance, etc. – either was inapplicable on the facts specific to the Native people or legally inconsistent and in error by the standards of the common law itself.

But what emerged most forcefully from Little Bear's contribution was the consistent communal concepts of land ownership underlying Native societies, concepts which reflect a communist concept of property ownership and social structure.

As the Native people once again rise to protect their communal life pattern and those portions of land which they have managed to maintain over centuries of brutal, inhuman conquest, despite forged treaties and agreements extracted through misrepresentation and connivance, the socialist traditions of the Native people are confronted by the rapacious greed of corporate energy monopolies. It is a tribute to the new Native leadership that is emerging that it stands four square on the socialist traditions of its past.

Weekly talks at Forward Forums discuss key ideas

By Matt O'Henly

Last month saw the CLC convention occur with its critical implications for the Canadian labor movement, and the Forward Forum provided a major discussion of this event on the 28th. Socialist League organizer Gordon Doctorow, who was at the convention, reported on the events which occurred there and their significance for the ongoing struggle of the labor movement against the wage freeze.

Discussing the CLC resolutions at some length, Doctorow pointed out the political implications of the convention decisions. He clearly showed that the CLC's resolutions and militant spirit marked a strong step forward in that struggle.

He also related his impressions of the solidity of the labor front expressed at the convention and briefly pointed out the firm support delegates expressed for the NDP, within the framework of unconditional and critical support.

Another key forum was given by Robert Kasher on the situation in Italy. The speaker discussed the implications of the current election campaigns of the Communist Party and Socialist Party of Italy and the possibilities presented by the elections to be held on June 22.

This coming month the Forward Forum will be presenting a varied lineup of topics of concern to the left. On June 18 the Irish question will be taken up. A speaker from the Sean Fox Club in Toronto is scheduled to present an informative and analytical talk on this important and complex question.

The following week, June 25, will feature an examination of the Ontario NDP convention held on June 11-13 at Kingston. With the NDP probably facing an election this year this convention is important in understanding the party's current state, particularly from the point of view of building a left wing. Two delegates who played an active role in the convention will present a joint analysis of its significance.

The July 2 forum by Murray Dowson will be on the more general topic of the current world economic recession. Drawing heavily on the recent writings by the renowned Marxist economist Ernest Mandel on this subject, Dowson will be presenting a theoretical overview of this crisis which underlies all the major issues of wage controls and cutbacks in Canadian and other capitalist countries.

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FOWARD BOOKS
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Drive surpasses $5500 objective

By the editors

We did it! This year's Forward Fund Drive has been a huge success! Thanks to the support of our committed readers, we not only hit our target of $5500 but surpassed it by $400, drawing in contributions and pledges of $5900. Thus in the year that we set our most ambitious target, we not only met the challenge of funding the socialist press but far surpassed it.

This shows that a paper that agitates for unconditional support of the NDP as the expression of independent labor political action in Canada, that strives to win socialist policies in this party by fighting for the construction of a principled left wing, that consistently identifies with the radical Canadian nationalist sentiment that is sweeping this country in opposition to the rule of the US imperialist corporations and their stooges in the Liberal and Tory parties that act in their behalf, and that defends the rights of all those exploited and oppressed under capitalism – women, youth, native peoples, the workers who have created the immense wealth of this country – by projecting a socialist solution, can not only survive but can gain the overwhelming support of its many readers.

While the bulk of the contributions came from the Toronto area, it is our pleasure to report donations from Vancouver and the west coast, from other Ontario cities, and even from Lion's Head in Northern Ontario. We would like to thank our friends for their serious response to our call for support.

We at **Forward** pledge to carry on in publishing the same high calibre of socialist journalism readers have come to expect. Part of the funds raised will be used to expand the paper's distribution and circulation in order to make its intervention in the class struggle more effective.

We would also like to pay tribute, at this time, to the Forward Fund Drive co-ordinators whose energy and organization made this drive such a success. To them and to all our generous readers the staff wishes to end this year's Forward Fund Drive with heart-felt thanks and a commitment to press forward.

All out behind the CLC's day of protest action!

By the editors

As we go to press, Joseph Morris, Canadian Labor Congress President, has announced that the CLC will be calling a "national day of protest" against the wage freeze. Morris explained that such a protest would encompass the work stoppages authorized by the CLC convention as well as reach out to other social layers such as students and pensioners. "By changing the terminology, we've broadened the scope of the protest."

In a snide attempt to counteract Morris' call, Prime Minister Trudeau attached great importance to the terminological change, suggesting that the protest was a retreat from the earlier call for a general strike.

But, in fact, the CLC has opened the door for all community organizations, pensioners' groups, tenants' organizations, consumer organizations, student councils and unorganized workers to swell the ranks of protest against the autocratic Anti-Inflation Board.

By raising tuition fees, by allowing meagre pensions to shrink through inflated dollars, by cutbacks in hospitals, daycare, welfare, unemployment insurance and a variety of other social services, the government has created an angry groundswell of protest which can be tapped by the labor protest. All those affected by federal and provincial cutbacks are potential allies and participants in the massive projected one-day general protest.

Morris' call should be carried throughout the grassroots organizations, through the student organizations, through the NDP and into the ranks of unorganized workers. The opening up of the national work stoppage to encompass allies of the labor movement underlines the seriousness of the entire enterprise and its unifying potential.

When the precise date and form of protest is set, all socialists and labor activists have the duty to respond unreservedly to Morris' appeal in order to build what promises to be the most massive and significant expression of labor opposition for decades.

Labor needs unity to fight the freeze

By Vic Hanson

"The ruling of the Supreme Court does not change our attitude towards this law," said Norbert Rodrigue, newly-elected President of the Confederation of National Trade Unions, in a written statement after the Supreme Court ruling in favor of the wage controls. "We still consider it to be anti-labor and aimed directly against Canadian workers."

He pointed out that what was important was not the Supreme Court but the mobilization of workers.

While it called into question how the provinces could impose wage controls on their civil servants, the Supreme Court ruling that Ontario Premier Davis and his Conservatives had acted illegally in using an order-in-council to include Ontario civil servants under the federal wage controls, was still not the decisive victory against the wage controls that the leaders of the Canadian labor movement have repeatedly said is necessary. After the decision, the Ontario Liberals and Conservatives predictably lined up against the NDP, which has maintained a principled position against the wage controls, to ram through retroactive legislation to include the Ontario civil servants.

The list of AIB rollbacks such as that imposed on the 50,000 Ontario civil servants, who have had one-third of their arbitrated settlement unjustly rolled back, and the sugar workers in Saint John, NB, who have not only had their pay increase rolled back from 14% to 8.29% but are also being forced to pay the AIB $25 a week for four weeks, grows week by week.

The continuing assault by the AIB on the wages of Canadian workers and the Supreme Court rulings have clearly shown the need for the CLC leadership to drop the "if and when necessary" clause in the Program of Action, set a date for a general strike, and begin to mobilize for the success of such a strike.

The federal government is fearful of the strength of labor's opposition to the wage controls. The recent amendments to the AIB regulations that are supposedly to restrict profits and thereby prices are an indication that the government is trying to make the controls appear fair and to counter the growing realization among the Canadian public in general that it is really wages and not profits or prices that are being controlled. However, the Liberals and their business allies are not about to

Continued on page 7

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forward

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Trudeau retreats before campaign against French

By P. Kent

By P. Kent

It is hard to believe it was only a matter of weeks ago that Prime Minister Trudeau was boasting – to the approving nods of the Ottawa meeting of the international businessmen's Trilateral Commission – that separatism in Canada is dead.

Now, with Transport Minister Otto Lang's capitulation before air traffic controller and pilot cries that air safety demands the ditching of the use of the French language even in Quebec, his government is in a profound crisis. Jean Marchand's resignation as minister of the environment on the grounds that "I could not stay in a government that is prepared to negotiate bilingualism," brings to six the number of former cabinet ministers now sitting in the back benches. Two Quebec members of the federal Liberal caucus have confirmed that they are undertaking the legal actions on behalf of L'Association des Gens de l'Air du Quebec to overturn their own government's prohibitions of the French language. They are charging, before both the Quebec Superior Court and the Federal Court, that Ottawa's English-only ruling is a violation of the Official Languages Act, which recognizes French and English as the official languages of the country.

One of them, Pierre De Bane, has declared his intention to fight to the "finish" on the issue of bilingualism even though it could lead to a split in the Liberal Party. The Quebec wing of the party is in turmoil, with the Quebec National Assembly voting unanimously behind a joint Liberal and Parti Quebecois motion condemning the Trudeau government's failure to enforce bilingualism in the province's airports. Trudeau's promise of a bilingual Canada, designed to placate the Quebec nation's grave concern about their language and cultural rights, that was to show that Confederation can

p2

Quebec air controllers defied the anti-French strike of English controllers and pilots by staying on the job last June.

Canadian money used to back Rhodesian system

By Dale Ritch

Canada's second largest bank, the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce, is under investigation by the federal government to determine whether it violated Canadian law by loaning $2 million in 1970 to a British firm, Lonrho Ltd., for investment in a Rhodesian copper mine.

Information about the loan was revealed in a massive British government report on the activities of Lonrho Inc. Lonrho, whose board of directors included such eminent British personages as a son-in-law of Winston Churchill and a cousin-in-law of Queen Elizabeth, was involved in several illegal enterprises in Rhodesia.

Although Canada has laws forbidding any trade or business dealings with Rhodesia, Finance Minister Donald Macdonald is not sure the loan was illegal because it was made by the bank's subsidiary in Nassau.

R. Rowland, the chief executive officer of Lonrho, attempted to defend Lonrho's illegal activities by accusing several British corporations, including companies in which the state has a substantial interest, of dealing with Rhodesia. He also claimed that Canada-based Massey-Ferguson doubled its profits in Rhodesia last year.

Although Page Wadsworth, the top officer of the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce, defended the loan by saying that there was nothing illegal or improper in the bank's activities, no banker hands out $2 million without knowing where the money is going and what it is to be used for.

Furthermore, the fact that Angus Ogilvy, cousin-in-law of Queen Elizabeth, was on the board of directors of both Lonrho and the Bank of Commerce signifies a close relationship between Lonrho and the bank.

If Canadian law is unable to force Canadian corporations to honor the boycott against the racist state of Rhodesia, then new laws up to and including nationalization of the offending company must be legislated to carry out that task. On the other hand, it is not likely that the Liberal Party government, which is heavily financed and controlled by the banks, will seriously attempt to enforce its own laws.

In this issue

Polish workers' struggle p5
Review of CLC Manifesto...p4
VAC appeals dissolution.....p6

French language issue causes crisis for Liberal government

p. 2

work, separatist claims to the contrary, has been blown sky high.

The scarcely veiled English chauvinist arguments of the air traffic controllers and airline pilots opened up a veritable flood of anti-French poison which has isolated Quebec from the rest of the country and is resulting in innumerable overt abuses of the rights of the million Francophones residing outside of Quebec.

Trudeau was not indulging in melodramatics when he told the House that "this country is in danger of very seriously being divided on this issue as it has not been in 34 years." Then, a plebiscite as to whether conscripts in the armed forces should be drafted to serve overseas in the Second Imperialist World War revealed that Quebec stood in overwhelming opposition to the majority in English-speaking Canada. Since then the chief expression of Quebec nationalist sentiment has been the defence of French language and culture in the encroaching seas of Anglo-Canadian and US English culture.

Ever since the celebrations that accompanied the enactment of the Official Languages Act, which declared Canada to be bilingual, the government's leading spokespersons have been adapting to forces that have been promoting the concept that Canada is multicultural, so that French – rather than being equally the official language with English – is after all one of many languages and cultures that make up the whole. Trudeau himself has gone so far as to vigorously and publicly attack his own party, in office in Quebec, for legislating French as the official language of Quebec. Legislated in defence of the

Continued on page 6

Marchand takes flight from Liberal cabinet over government's capitulation to anti-French sentiment in air controller dispute.

Quebec air controllers defied the anti-French strike of English controllers and pilots by staying on the job last June.

Continued from page 1

French language in Quebec, it has been condemned by Trudeau as compromising the possibility of winning acceptance of French language rights in the rest of Canada.

As late as July 13, Treasury Board president Jean Chretien exempted the some 20 federal crown corporations in Quebec from having to comply with the Quebec legislation which would promote French as the working language in all levels of the corporations.

But the settlement of the 8-day air traffic controllers' strike saw the government move from a policy of retreat and compromises on French language rights to abject collapse.

The government agreed to establish a 3-member inquiry commission to investigate the safety, and along with it the cost and efficiency, of bilingual air traffic control in Quebec; and upon the issuance of their report to present it for a free vote in the House of Commons – sometime within the next two years.

In the meantime the government, pursuant to its agreement, has issued regulations that actually forbid the use of French even in Quebec except for six airports where it will be permitted for visual flight control only. Thus for the first time the mandatory use of English not only in international airports but almost all airports in Canada has been spelled out in regulations. Furthermore, regulations related to the use of French on the flight decks of Air Canada have been interpreted by Walter McLeish, director of the Canadian Air Transport Administration as in effect eliminating the use of French on a plane for its navigation and operation.

It is no wonder that Roger Demers, president of L'Association des Gens de l'Air du Quebec condemned the government's settlement before the biennial convention of the Confederation of National Trade Unions as nothing but a capitulation to blackmail. He pointed out that "All over the world, except in Quebec, the language of a country is the prime language of air communication. What we want is nothing more than this fundamental right."

The NDP leadership along with the CLC leadership have never shown any understanding of the significance of the mounting sentiment for self-determination, not to speak of it as being the elementary democratic right of the Quebecois should they choose to exercise it. They have compromised the development of a labor party formation there by leaving the field open to the petty-bourgeois reformist Parti Quebecois. In this dispute the NDP leadership in their short-sighted electoral opportunism have cravenly avoided the fundamental question – that of French language rights.

While in his statement President Morris dissociated the CLC from the independent Canadian Airline Pilots Association and the Canadian Air Traffic Controllers Association as running counter to CLC policy of support of the Official Languages Act, he protested against what he called the "barrage of politicking" that "is having a divisive effect on this country." His demand that "safety be the only issue in question" and "that the findings of the inquiry commission should be considered final" placed him firmly behind Trudeau and his Liberal government.

In the meantime French language rights have suffered a blow not only in Quebec but right across Canada – and the most conservative reactionary forces in the country have become stronger and bolder in the process. The division between Quebec and English Canada, and along lines that are not conducive to the unity of their working class movements, has been widened just when it is most needed to carry a successful fight against Trudeau's wage controls. Trudeau has won time to attempt to patch up his badly divided Liberal machine before the coming Quebec elections and to prepare for the commission of inquiry's recommendation before the next federal election. He is betting heavily on it to find out what everyone knows – that French is above all the language of safety in Quebec, and if found to be otherwise things will have cooled down and there will be no new explosions.

forward #20 Aug 1976

Asylum in Canada: refuge for whom?

By Gord Doctorow

Sergei Nemtsanov, the 17-year-old Soviet Olympic diver, decided to seek asylum in Canada, and the government has granted him complete and exceptional support. Similarly, when, in 1974, Soviet ballet star, Mikhail Baryshnikov decided that his career would fly higher in the west, he pirouetted into the open arms of the Canadian government and was admitted under a special ministerial order. In the same year, Canada gave sanctuary to one of Vietnam's most notorious war criminals, General Dang Van Quang, a well known opium pusher and CIA agent – who proved to be too much of an embarrassment to the US State Department to be allowed to remain in the US.

Recently, Immigration Minister Andras announced Canada's acceptance of 1,000 political refugees from Argentina. These refugees are political exiles from right wing slaughterhouse dictatorships such as Chile, Uruguay, and Brazil. Subsequent to the military coup that replaced the Peron government, they have become targets of the stepped-up activities of the AAA, the anti-communist vigilantes, whose methods of persuasion primarily consist of torture and murder.

"So, nothing to declare sir, other than a spot of drug-trafficking, torture, corruption, bribery . . . ?"

"Our record in the Chilean refugee movement is second to none," boasts Andras.

But the appearance, in this case, is not the reality. The reality is that the government's asylum policy has always favored the right wing and posed barriers to leftist refugees.

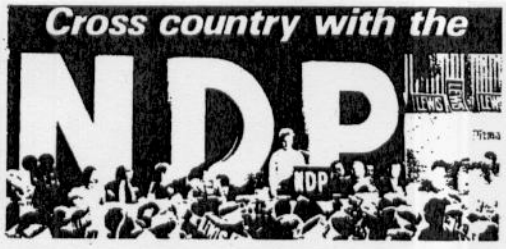
Although the 1,000 Latin Americans have been granted sanctuary, the Canadian government's response came *after* a group of desperate Chileans sat in for 13 days in the Canadian Embassy in Argentina, *after* a special delegation to the cabinet – led by NDP foreign affairs critic Andrew Brewin – made a plea on behalf of these and other refugees in Argentina, and *after* an appeal from the United Nations high commissioner. It must also be stated that Andras' boast is nothing more than smug hypocrisy when it is recalled that his government allowed the CIA to "screen" earlier refugees from the Chilean regime when they were urgently applying for asylum in Canada. How many Chilans must have suffered as a result of Canada's "second to none" record!

Nonetheless, many Latin American left wing refugees have made their way to the comparative safety of Canada. The Toronto **Globe and Mail** recently reported on the case of two Uruguayans in Canada, both known members of the Uruguayan Socialist Party (declared illegal along with every other party by the ruling military), who have just been ordered deported by the Canadian government through the federal courts. The Uruguayans and their families face torture and death if they return – one has already experienced brutal torture. When the Uruguayan "specialist" in the government immigration department was questioned by a **Globe and Mail** reporter, she admitted that she knew almost nothing about Uruguay although she believed the refugees would be in no danger if they returned.

This comedy of governmental error with its potentially tragic consequences has been met with anti-government indignation led by Andrew Brewin. Consequently, Andras – although pleading that his discretionary powers, which were employed in the case of ballet dancer Baryshnikov, are limited because the deportations have been held up in the courts – has been forced to review the Uruguayans' cases.

Although mass murderer General Dang Van Quang luxuriated in a well-to-do suburb of Monteal until the US State Department could discreetly move him back so that he would not have to face revolutionary justice in Viet Nam, American Indian Movement leader Leonard Peltier, seeking political asylum from the FBI, has been ordered deported by a BC immigration court. Peltier is wanted in the US for the murder of two FBI agents at the Pine Ridge Indian reservation in South Dakota. His defence against deportation centred around section 21 of the Canada Extradition Act, which states that "no fugitive is liable to surrender" if it appears his alleged offence was of a political nature. Peltier and his supporters fear for his life if he is turned over to the FBI, in light of the "curious manner" in which a Nova Scotian Indian, Anna Mae Quash, who was also active in AIM at Wounded Knee, was found slain. There is strong evidence that the FBI had something to do with her death. Fortunately, Peltier has received support from the Canadian native movement, the BC NDP, and within the labor movement.

The conclusion to be drawn is clear. Canada's policy of asylum serves the interest of big capital and discriminates against its victims. It falls to the united efforts of the left, civil libertarians, the labor movement, and the NDP to act as vigils to win sanctuary for victims of right wing repression.



forward
#20 Aug 1976

City polics and the NDP

By Wayne Roberts

Dan Heap, longstanding socialist and NDP activist and current senior alderman for Ward Six, recently circulated his views on the problems of Toronto reform councillors to his constituents. Referring to a recent debate where reformers stood their ground on zoning by-laws, he writes: "I believe we would have done better to make an outright attack on private ownership for profit... We might have campaigned to show the public how investors are taking huge windfall profits out of public expenditure and we could have pinned high rents where they belong – on the system of land speculation, rather than on zoning by-laws."

Arising out of these experiences, the entrance of the NDP into municipal politics is brought sharply into focus. As a contribution to the understanding of this important development, we reprint the statement of the Vancouver Area Council on municipal politics, noting that critics of this statement in Vancouver are proposing a course which Alderman Dan Heap's experience has led him to repudiate.

Why the NDP Entered the Municipal Field

The basic issues and the politics are the same at the municipal level as those at the provincial and federal levels. Canadian society is a capitalist society so obviously, the minute, every-day events in people's lives are affected by the rules of the capitalist economy. Real estate speculators, gouging landlords, food corporations, rigid social workers, and conservative teachers all operate at the municipal and the neighbourhood levels. It is those business interests which municipal councils must come to grips with.

To effectively eliminate capitalism, people must expose its actions and results at all levels. But there must be more than that! There must be a clear political, economic, and social alternative which people can substitute for capitalism. The NDP membership has developed policies leading to such an alternative society.

The NDP attacks capitalism in the federal and provincial arenas but it is in the gut-level, day-to-day events where the explanation of our policy that people will see the real value of a capitalist society.

We must use the NDP name because we want to clearly identify ourselves and our policies. Why hide the fact that we are socialists and pretend we are something else? How will people know whether that "something else" operates against capitalism federally and provincially, too? By running openly as the NDP, we are saying that municipal issues are political issues because they are part of capitalism.

The other political parties don't run openly in municipal elections because they don't want to "bring politics" into the operation of cities, towns, and villages. If they did, they would reveal their "economics of the privileged" at the gut-level. In the 1930's, the CCF was running, and winning, in Vancouver elections. The business interests banded together into a "non-partisan" coalition and broke up the ward system which was the power base of the CCF. They removed politics and the CCF/NDP has struggled to regain that foothold.

Capitalism teaches individualism so how can the Socreds, Liberals, and Conservatives control their members in the running of day-to-day municipal affairs. After all isn't it like running a company, each boss or manager (mayor or alderman) to himself or herself? Campaigning as "non-partisan individuals" or "good citizens" maintains that individualism. Mystifying "non-partisanship" keeps low income and working-class people from recognizing their common interests and getting together to fight for those interests. The best way to illustrate the collectivism of socialism is to have NDP members working together as a Party.

As the NDP, we have, already, about 25,000 members who could be actively working through area council or constituency committees to explain and develop our policy on issues. Many NDP members could run for the thousands of municipal positions throughout the province. Instead of simply 55 potential elected members, there could be hundreds or thousands all committed to the same policies, all fighting for the same changes.

Instead of simply waiting around for the next election to come along, NDP members should be working actively, as NDP'ers, to help tenants organize, to stop real estate and development corporations, to stop resource companies, to expand child care, to support workers when management disputes occur, to democratize the schools, to run in local council and board elections and to educate generally about the value of socialism.

VAC appeals dissolution

In a unilateral move of unabashed arrogance, reminiscent of the German socialist playwright Bertolt Brecht's "the government has lost confidence in the people and has therefore decided to dissolve the people and elect a new one", the provincial executive of the BC NDP has dissolved the Vancouver Area Council. The VAC immediately issued an appeal against the arbitrary and undemocratic way in which a duly-constituted and functioning body of the NDP has been dissolved. Pending the outcome of the VAC appeal, the action has ominous significance for local councils of the NDP throughout the country.

Hilda Thomas, chairwoman of now defunct Vancouver Area Council, abolished by NDP executive fiat.

The executive ukase follows the efforts of VAC opponents to dismantle the VAC at the recent BC convention. The convention, however, refused to provide the two-thirds majority needed to endorse such a course, with the result that the constitutional position of the VAC was basically secure, subject to some alterations which the current VAC was in the midst of implementing when the executive decision came down.

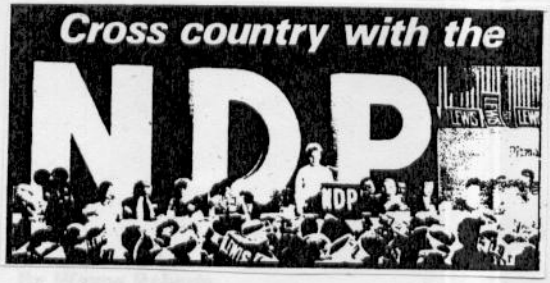
The executive has taken the decision that the authority of the VAC is unconstitutional since the VAC is open to all members of the NDP in Vancouver rather than limited to elected delegates from the ridings. This is cleary a trumped-up charge, as the VAC has operated on the basis of open meetings, with the sanction of all party bodies, since its founding in the late sixties. If the issue is one of burning constitutional niceties, it is the executive which has acted shamefully, having dissolved the council without even consulting the area council or constituencies associated with it.

What really set the NDP right wing in motion was the course of the VAC in adopting a full slate perspective for the upcoming Vancouver municipal elections, upsetting the applecart of several individual NDPers who hoped to dance into municipal office in some loose liberal-NDP "non-partisan" coalition. The VAC has been subject to a campaign of vilification and slander from these forces since that decision.

The VAC, being by nature closer to the rank and file, has frequently taken measures more radical than those of the NDP tops. This executive decision is a warning to all such bodies that grassroots democracy can be overturned whenever it fits the needs of unannounced and unarticulated policy as decided by the officials. For this reason, it is important for NDP riding associations across the country to protest the action of the BC executive and call for the VAC appeal to be upheld.

→p.2

forward #20



p. 2

Unionist poses left policy

True North, a Sudbury-based paper with pro-labor and pro-NDP views has published an important statement by UAW Research Director Sam Gindin, which analyses Trudeau's corporatism and projects a course forward for labor and the NDP. His article doubtless reflects the thinking of key layers of the labor leadership.

Although his assessment is admittedly speculative in parts – he forecasts for instance that Trudeau might increase social welfare measures as a means of co-opting labor, a possibility which is far removed from present realities – he stands generally on firm ground, pointing out how Trudeau's strategy is geared to maintaining and raising the rate of profit. For the labor movement, he argues, "an effective policy means challenging and ultimately putting an end to corporate power rather than serving it." He correctly sees the struggle against controls and corporatism as "a matter of not only defending our membership from the immediate attacks, but also a matter of the long-run survival of trade unionism."

His conclusions as to the significance of this struggle for the NDP takes the NDP in quite a different direction from that proposed by sections of the opportunistic provincial leaderships which have been wavering on the issue of controls and their effect on Canadian life:

"The attack on working people that the controls represent are unlike anything Canadian labor has seen before, and to fight it effectively must mean an emphasis on internal education and organization unlike anything that has happened before.

"Furthermore, although many of the battles will take place at the level of individual unions, at some point we will have to move towards acting as a united class against the controls.

"The nature (of the struggle – ed.) implies both a fantastic *potential* to do the political education and vital *necessity* to undertake it.

"Since the wage controls are really a particular strategy of economic development, the labor movement will have to present an alternative strategy...

"Furthermore, if corporatism does develop in the future, this will mean that the Liberals will co-opt much of the NDP language and some of its policies and the NDP – to remain relevant – will have to take a clearer, more pro-labour, more left position."

With the vacillation and betrayal of sections of the NDP leadership since the imposition of the controls, the need for the party to move to the left has received increased recognition within the ranks of the party and its union affiliates. The challenge is increasingly becoming one of forging a caucus that can implement that perspective and present it in a coherent and organized way before the whole movement.

Sask. NDP battles with CRTC to establish people's cable TV

By G. Donnelly

The Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) has dealt a blow against plans for public control of cable television in Saskatchewan. The NDP government had planned to have Sask Tel (the provincially owned telephone company) own and run all the cable lines and hardware, and import distant signals while non-profit community groups (co-operatives) in each place would hold the cable licence and handle the community programming. The CRTC refused Sask Tel a cable TV licence but granted licences to private operators in Moose Jaw and Saskatoon and, as a concession, to co-operatives in Regina and North Battleford.

This violates the CRTC's own policy of giving priority to community programming and not impairing service to rural communities. Only through a government-owned cable service can the small Saskatchewan communities be served, and at low rates, by having the bigger cities subsidize their needs through the rate structure.

Saskatchewan NDP Premier Blakeney stated his government's firm opposition to private ownership of the cable TV hardware because it would serve only to benefit profit goals.

The July 28/76 issue of the Saskatchewan NDP's publication **The Commonwealth** in an editorial urged its readers to support the Saskatchewan government's position:

"If ever there was a clear cut example of the choice between private and public ownership, cable provides it. The private operators seek monopoly cable franchises in order to provide a high rate of return on investment.

"The co-ops are not interested in the investment return but on the quality of the programming to the community.

"Anyone who is not an investor connected in the private companies can see the structural merits of having a co-operative run a public monopoly. For this reason, the co-ops readily accepted the arrangement with Sask Tel to provide cable hardware because this relieves the co-operatives of a major expense."

Sask Tel is appealing the CRTC decision to the Federal Court of Canada and to the federal cabinet.

In the meanwhile, it has ignored the CRTC and already laid a considerable amount of coaxial cable. The system will probably be implemented on a "closed circuit" basis, which would take it out of the CRTC's jurisdiction.

All socialists, NDP ridings, and trade unionists should support the Saskatchewan NDP's daring and innovative move to provide a people's cable TV service through expressions of solidarity with Sask Tel and of opposition to the CRTC's ruling directed to the federal government.

forward #20 Aug 1976

Solidarity with the Polish workers!

By Dale Ritch

For the third time in the last twenty years, and just a few days before the East German summit meeting of European Communist Parties, the working class of Poland has served notice on the ruling bureaucracy that the workers intend to share fully in the wealth that their labor creates.

The notice was given on June 26 in the form of a massive wave of strikes which swept across Poland in the aftermath of an announcement by the government that prices on almost all food commodities were to be raised between 30% and 100%.

The explosion of resentment against the bureaucracy culminated in the looting of food stores, the firing of the Communist Party headquarters in Radom, and the tearing up of railway tracks on the main rail line between Paris and Warsaw. The strikes were immediately successful in forcing the government to roll back the proposed price increases.

The factor that precipitated the strike this summer, massive price increases in basic food commodities, was the same issue that triggered a previous wave of strikes in December 1970. Although the real income of Polish workers has increased rapidly over the past ten years, there has been a failure to achieve growth in the production of consumer foods to match the increasing aspirations of the working class in Poland. Furthermore, although Poland's economy has not suffered the inflation and unemployment plaguing capitalist countries, it is by no means insulated from the effects of the world capitalist recession.

The recession has caused a loss of markets for Polish exports. This decline coupled with a drastic increase in the price of oil and other raw material imports has led to a huge and growing trade deficit with the West (approximately $6,000 million).

The bureaucracy in Poland has backed itself into a corner since 1970. It has made concessions to the workers by freezing the price of food and other consumer commodities, and financed these subsidies with Western bank loans. But bureaucratic practices in industry and government and severe structural imbalances in the economy have made it impossible for the government to maintain a steady and rapid enough increase in investment and production to repay the loans.

For example, 34% of the active population is still employed in agriculture (compared to 8% in Canada) which is 80% privately owned, based on small plots of less than 10 hectares (25 acres) each. Productivity is not even half of that of most other Eastern European countries. In 1975, production fell 2.4% compared with 1974.

The extreme crisis of the economy suggests strongly that the current retreat of the Polish government in its attempt to force the workers to shoulder the burden of the crisis, is a temporary phenomenon. The repression that included at least two workers being killed by police in Radom and six workers sentenced to terms of up to ten years for damaging state property indicates that the government will try to implement increases again in the future.

The ability of the bureaucracy to repress the growing independence of the working class movement will depend to a great extent on the support given to the Polish workers and intellectuals by their counterparts in Europe and North America.

Italian Communist Party leader, Enrico Berlinguer has responded to pressure from the Italian workers movement and the left and has formally asked the government of Poland to treat the food strikers with "moderation and clemency", and said that the socialist countries should give the workers an active role in solving social conflicts. Sixty Polish intellectuals, including Marxist dissident Jacek Kuron, delivered an open letter to the Polish Parliament calling for greater democratic freedoms.

To block reprisals against these dissidents, socialists in Canada must back up these initiatives and extend full, unconditional support to all the anti-bureaucratic struggles in Poland and other Eastern European countries.

The economic crisis afflicting Poland will not be resolved until all sectors of the economy including agriculture are socialized and until the workers themselves through their own democratic unions and councils are in control of the factories and the state.

forward #20 Aug 1976

Forward Forums

Is nationalism reactionary?

By Paul Kellogg

The recent contribution to the debate in the Canadian left on the phenomenon of the upsurge of nationalist sentiment in the Canadian working class, **Imperialism and the National Question in Canada** by Steve Moore and Debi Wells, has been the subject of three important critiques appearing in Canadian socialist journals. These critiques provided the subject matter August 6, for the latest in the weekly Forward Forum series.

The speaker, Dale Ritch, past president of the student union at York University, refuted Moore and Wells' contention that Canada is (or is becoming) an independent imperialist power, agreeing in essence with the review of the book by Jack Warnock in a recent issue of **Canadian Dimension.** Warnock exposes the inadequacies of the book's investigation of the "facts" supporting the existence of a so-called Canadian "independent imperialism", and uses the very statistics with which Moore and Wells advance their thesis to prove that, on the contrary, the Canadian economy is so dominated by American capital, that it does not and cannot play an independent imperialist role.

The conclusion that Warnock draws – as does Ian Lumsden in his review which appeared in **Canadian Forum** – is that contrary to the contention of Moore and Wells, Canadian nationalism in this period, has a progressive dynamic, one that clearly exposes the class nature of Canadian society and poses socialism as the only possible solution, for the Canadian capitalists' subservience to the American imperialist ripoff of Canadian society – the root cause of Canadian nationalism.

As Ritch pointed out in his forum, concurring with Warnock, the significance of the Moore/Wells book in the debate on Canadian nationalism, lies not in any unique contribution it makes – in its arbitrary use of statistics and lack of any credible research, it is a very frustrating book to have to read – but in that it is one of the very few contributions from Canadian socialists who claim that Canada is an independent imperialist power.

In the month of July, the Forward Forums concentrated on the current crisis in the Third World. July 23, Gord Doctorow, organizer of the Socialist League, dealt with the current upsurge of struggles in South Africa. He made the case that the Black struggle to wrest basic democratic and human rights from the racist Vorster regime leads directly into the struggle for socialism, that indeed they could only be won when the apartheid regime is toppled and replaced with a society that abolishes the rule of capital, a society led by the working class.

The importance of South Africa is that it is the one country in all of Black Africa where the black working class has significant social weight.

The week before, Robert Kasher, chairman of the United Left Coalition at York University doing graduate work in third world studies, led a discussion revolving around the problem of underdevelopment in the third world. A central aspect of the talk was the success workers' states such as China have had tackling this problem as compared to a country like India, still under the thumb of imperialist exploitation. However, with imperialist domination of the world economy, underdevelopment cannot be definitively eradicated until a world socialist revolution places all the resources of human productivity at the disposal of the oppressed peoples of the world.

The two preceding forums dealt with the question of the crisis of the world capitalist economy with an economic analysis by Murray Dowson on July 9, followed on July 16 by a forum entitled "Reform or Revolution" where speaker Ross Dowson dealt with the anti-working-class dangers and pitfalls of a reformist approach to the problems created by capitalism, putting forward a revolutionary socialist approach.

The three upcoming forums in the month of August carry on in the Forward tradition, presenting socialist analyses of issues and events of concern and educational value to socialists active in the struggle for socialism in Canada. August 13, a critique of detente and the current Stockholm peace petition being circulated by the Communist Party, taking up the utopian and illusory character of these projects of the CP, will be presented by Calvin Johansson, trade unionist and NDP activist.

The following week, August 20, Harry Paine, prominent activist in CARAL, long-time NDPer and socialist, asks the question "Should Leninists join the NDP?" affirming the views of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky on mass labor party formations such as the NDP.

Finally, August 27, the forum will be a tribute to the first anniversary of the defeat of American imperialism in Vietnam, a discussion of the dynamics of the Indochinese Revolution one year after, and a theoretical explanation of the accelerated tempo of socialist planning.

forward #20
Editor: Wayne Roberts
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Santucho murdered

By the editors

The strategy of guerrilla warfare suffered a severe blow when one of its foremost exponents, Roberto Santucho, leader of the Argentine Revolutionary People's Army (ERP) was shot dead by army forces July 19th.

While we solidarize with the courage and dedication of Santucho, we must continue to take our distance from the unrealistic and dangerous strategy of the ERP.

Santucho and the ERP rejected the Leninist concept of party-building. This concept, which was epitomized by the Bolshevik party in the Soviet Union prior to its Stalinization, involved the systematic and conscious production of socialist cadres deeply rooted in all the mass organizations of the working class and its allies.

The practical consequences of guerrilla warfare strategy are aptly illustrated in the "Salustro affair". In the midst of a mass uprising in the early 1970's, which paralyzed the industrial centre of Cordoba through a general strike, the ERP kidnapped a Fiat executive, Salustro, thereby providing an excuse for the government to declare martial law in order to break the strike.

A mass vanguard party, rooted in the Cordoba workers' movement, would have sought to win leadership of the struggle through their direct involvement in it and by raising demands to widen the struggle and to generalize it. Distracted by its narrow militaristic strategy, the ERP was too blind to the mass mobilization of the working class.

Santucho failed to communicate to the forces within Argentina who through a long process, involving numerous experiences in daily confrontation, will eventually bury the capitalist class. He sought to skip all the intermediary steps and awaken a mass response through humiliating the bourgeoisie and acting as an example of courageous revolutionary struggle.

Thus Santucho's actions were never the organic expression of mass resentment. They merely constituted desperate acts of politically isolated individuals seeking to overcome that isolation through means which in reality increase it. Santucho, despite his dedication and courage, merely stood on the sidelines of the class struggle, winning the applause of the masses on occasion, but never building the bridges needed for common action.

This was the key lesson of the death of Che Guevera, the leading exponent of guerrilla warfare strategy. Out of rhythm with the internal processes of the Bolivian class struggle, he was a ready target for imperialism, with its numerical superiority and techniques of surveillance and combat.

The lesson of the Cuban revolution has been learned well by imperialism. The variety of unique circumstances which resulted in the Cuban revolution are unlikely to be repeated elsewhere. Any strategy which impels its adherents into unequal military confrontation with the forces of imperialism can only result in more unfortunate losses of the revolutionary vanguard.

FORWARD FORUMS

August 20 SHOULD SOCIALISTS JOIN THE NDP?
Speaker: Harry Paine

August 27 VIETNAM: one year after the rout of U.S. imperialism
Speaker: Dale Rich
53 Gerrard St., W
Toronto

SOCIALIST LEAGUE
53 Gerrard St. W.
Toronto, Ont. M5G 1J2
(416) 595-1284

September 2, 1976

To The National Gay Rights Coalition:

The Socialist League is in complete solidarity with the aims and goals of the demonstration of the national gay organizations on September 4 to include sexual orientation in the human rights code and to re-instate John Daimien. We believe that just as Dr. Henry Morgentaler has become the symbol against women's oppression in the campaign to repeal the abortion laws, so John Daimien has become the symbol nationally of struggle against the unjust and inhuman oppression of gay people under capitalism. Because John Daimien has become a focus for gay rights and civil liberties in Canada, we urge all groups -- socialist, democratic, civil libertarian -- to take up his defence. Therefore, we wish to add our organization's name to the list of sponsors for the September 4 action.

each Friday night at 8 pm

Forward Forum

53 Gerrard St. W.

(at Bay)

Phone: 595-1284

September 10th: Citizen Control of the Police:

A noted Canadian lawyer discusses the impact of the Morand commission report and the reaction to it. A socialist perspective on why we need citizen control of the police.
Speaker: Harry Kopyto.

September 17th: The Sociology of Trade Unions:

Are the trade unions a progressive or regressive force in capitalist society? What is the role and nature of the trade union bureaucracy and how does it relate to the the struggles of the working class? How should militants orient to the trade union movement?
Speaker: Ross Dowson.

September 24th: Limits to Growth or Limits on Growth?

A socialist perspective on the Club of Rome thesis. Are we doomed to a future of ever greater poverty or stagnation? Or are our economic and ecological problems solvable through the elimination of the capitalist mode of production and institution of a planned economy?
Speaker: to be announced

Three forums designed to deal with some of the problems of everyday life and provide a perspective on them.

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1st MEMBERSHIP MEETING OF 1976/77

FRIDAY, SEPT. 17

1:00 PM ROOM: 143 NORTH ROSS BUILDING

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- ROLL-BACK FOREIGN STUDENT FEE INCREASES
- IMPLEMENT THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE SENATE TASK FORCE ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN, AT YORK UNIVERSITY
- AGAINST THE CUTBACKS
- FOR STUDENT-FACULTY-STAFF CONTROL OF THE UNIVERSITY
- FOR A STRONG STUDENT UNION
- TAX THE CORPORATIONS TO PAY FOR EDUCATION

WHERE IS THE YORK STUDENT MOVEMENT?

join in the discussion_____

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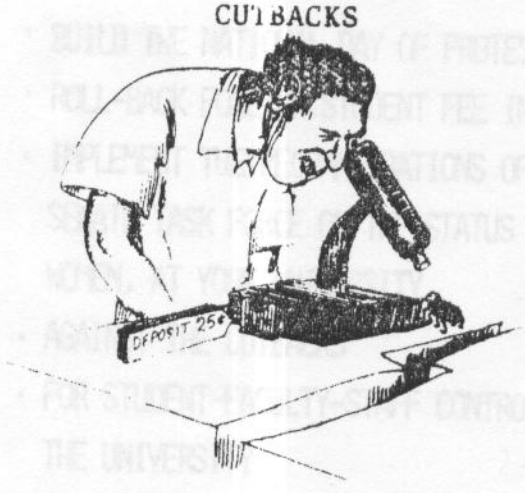

Friday Oct. 1: 2 pm.

S170 Ross

ALL WELCOME

Socialist League,
[illegible] Gerrard St. W.,
Toronto, Ont.
Sept. 28, 1976

Dear Comrades;

To confirm, remind, or inform you, the second last branch meeting decided to set the weekly branch meeting time for each sunday evening at 8:00 p.m.. The mass distribution campaign of the special issue on Oct. 14 is underway. All major industrial plants in Toronto will be distributed before the 14th. A special press run of 12,000 for this issue will be distributed at transit points, meetings, campuses (universities and colleges), and movies. I will be in contact with those comrades available for the various times we will be going out .

Comradely,

Abie Weisfeld

Abie Weisfeld
interim organizer

Oct. 14 out-of-town distributions

Peterborough: Dave P.; Main St. 12:00pm
~~[illegible]~~ 500 copies

Oshawa; John D. & Bill M.; 401 to Simcoe St down to the 4 corners (King St.) centre oftown rallys at two spots; 1) Post Office: 1 blk. s. of King
2) UIC & Manpower: 1 blk. n. of King
8:00 - 11:00 am
500 copies
~~15~~ 500

Midland: Ross; Federal Build.; 11:00 am
250

Kitchener: Gord & Murray; (Lois B.) 9:30
1000 copies

Hamilton: ~~[illegible]~~ & Homily WAYNE & ELLIE, ~~Dale & [illegible] R.~~ ~~Frank L.~~, ; City Hall, 11:00
1500 copies JOHN GLENN

St. Catherines: ~~Dale & [illegible] R.~~ (Frank L) & John Bacher; Ontario & Church St., 2pm
500 copies

684-4834

Brantford: ~~Dale & [illegible] R.~~ ; UAW Hall; ~~corner of Erie and Market~~ ; 9:30
Demo at noon at Federal building

~~JOHN GLENN~~ 10:00

11:00 Memorial Arena

For a united mass mobilization on October 14 Day of Protest

students! old age pensioners! women! community activists!

labor challenges controls

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

forward

(21) Vol. 2, No. 9 September 1976 Toronto 20 Cents

What's controlled besides our wages?

By Paul Kellogg

The rhetoric is being slicked up and smoothed out as Trudeau's cabinet of wage-watchers spread their lies about the anti-inflation program.

In a ¾-page ad appearing in major newspapers across Canada, the opening kick-off in a one million dollar public relations campaign trying to sell the controls program, the Liberals set out to persuade us that because of the AIB, Canadians are better off than at this time last year. The mass media, in article after article, is selling the same line in a mammoth press campaign, slamming the labor movement for the CLC's planned national Day of Protest.

Certainly, some C better off, as federal N Broadbent has been pc nation-wide tour expc as a wage-control-o Bell Canada, for instar six months of 1976, re increase in profit t $148,700,000, in e: already exorbitant fi age of 14.8%.

Real estate specu agree with Trudeau better off, one year int program, housing jumped 11.2%. Th owned oil and gas corp complain, sitting on price increase of alm

For Bell, the ba American energy giar looks even brighter u On Sept. 8, the govern ced the relaxation of th relaxed profit controls

The changes leave at the same state they Finance Minister Ma ened them in his May budget, a state that was so loose even AIB chairman Pepin admitted: "I cannot sit here and honestly say that the profit control system we now have is going to do the job. Businesses have too many ways of using the rules to their advantage."

The trade union movement might very well ask, as they did across Canada on Labor Day, "What ever happened to price controls?"

If profits aren't suffering, neither are the salaries of top corporation executives.

And still the Toronto **Star**, with the rest of the mass media, insists that it is the low and middle-income wage-earners who are to blame for Canada's economic woes, insisting they are better off now than ever.

Continued on page 7

By Ross Dowson

As October 14 approaches, the first anniversary of the day when the Trudeau government, with the support of the Progressive Conservatives and Social Credit, set into operation its freeze of workers' wages and its far reaching program of cutbacks in social legislation, the ranks of the organized labor movement are mobilizing what is already certain to be the most significant action in Canadian labor's turbulent struggle for social justice.

At Burnaby BC, the first of a series of provincial rallies to be held right across the country, the response of some 350 union officers representing the elected executive of the BC Federation, 15 labor councils, and a number of key unions, was so militant that Secretary-treasurer Len Guy declared that all "BC will shut down. The ferries are going down – transit is going down – Pacific Press will be out – and also the railways." The meeting decided that each labor council in BC will establish its own committee, as will local unions, "to plan effective shutdowns of operations, and rank and file participation in the demonstrations." Guy, who expressed preference for calling the October 14 action a general strike, said the protest will last "for a full 24 hours", with mass demonstrations accompanying the plant walkouts in all major BC centres. Full-time union officials are donating their day's pay.

"By imposing wage controls," said Guy, "the government and its political allies have awakened in the labor movement a sleeping giant. After October 14 Canadian politics will never again be the same."

As we go to press, the leadership of the over two million strong CLC is holding organizing meetings in Edmonton, Regina, Winnipeg, St. John's, Toronto, Halifax and Moncton. The Metro Toronto Labor Council has beat the gun by already endorsing a provisional program of action for October 14 which will see plant gate picketing from 6 to 9 a.m. followed by a mass rally, possibly in the 50,000 seat CNE stadium, then assemblies in local union halls, and after 5, "happenings", for civil servants, school teachers and others who wish to support the one day strike in some other manner. A staff has been struck off and a 15 cent per member levy set to build the $20,000 treasury agreed upon.

In order to "broaden the scope of the protest" the CLC leadership has designated October 14 a "Day of Protest."

Through its projected October 14 actions, organized labor hopes to bring into the arena the hundreds of thousands who are not members of unions but who by that very fact have been all the more vulnerable and are in fact the chief victims of the shameless legislation that has been enacted from every level of government under the guise of restraining inflation.

It is appealing to the women of Canada who constitute 40% of the labor force but of which only 22% are organized. Already shoved into the lowest wage sectors of the economy, paid far less than men even when the job is substantially the same, now, with the setting of percentage guidelines by the government, women are locked into a continuation of increasingly inequitable pay scales. It is appealing to housewives who are being driven to despair trying to stretch household funds in the face of price hoists on every front.

Labor is appealing to old age pensioners whose savings are disappearing before their eyes, while cost of housing, in the form of taxes or rent, food, clothes, continues to push more and more of their number into abject penury. With the cutbacks of funds heretofore allocated to health and medicare, the closure of clinics and hospital facilities, they are increasingly being thrust to depend on their own vanishing resources.

It is appealing to post-secondary students who more than ever before due to cutbacks and the brutal curtailment of government projects looked in vain for summer employment. In July, the national unemployment registered rate for young people under 25 was nearly 13%, with thousands in despair not even bothering to register. One in five Newfoundland young people and 15% in Quebec were unable to find a job. Faced with increased fees, and rising costs of maintenance, thousands will be unable to finance themselves in the coming year and will not return to school or will drop out during the course of the year.

It is appealing to the working people as a whole, the unemployed, the working poor, every sector, to join in this beginning of a mighty resistance to this vicious class legislation. Organized labor has taken the initiative; its mighty battalions are moving into action. It is important to the success of this struggle that all women's organizations, pensioners' associations, student bodies, community organizations of every type – fighting against cutbacks in daycare facilities, against rent gouging and price hoists, get into the preparations, mobilize their supporters in the mass assemblies, the street actions, whatever the forms the October 14 protests take on in their community.

October 14 can be a mighty breakthrough in the forward march to smash the wage controls, defeat the cutback legislation, and wrest "power from business and its government in the interest of labor," to institute "a system of national and economic planning" and "to forge the power to create a social democracy", the declared aim of Labor's Manifesto.

How come protesting injustice brings charges of illegality?

By Vic Hanson

The Day of Protest "is now being used as, in a sense – blackmail is probably too strong a word – as a weapon in a political way to mount an offensive against a legitimate Government democratically elected."

So said John Munro, Minister of Labor, shortly after the CLC leadership announced plans for a national day of protest to defeat the wage controls. In one sentence Munro summarized the hypocritical attacks that have been launched by business on the legitimate struggle of the workers of Canada to defend their union rights.

The Day of Protest has been labelled "blackmail", "undemocratic" and "illegal". The intensity of the bosses' attacks almost portray Canadian workers as wanted criminals. Already, Ontario civil servants have been threatened with $500 fines and the Canadian Manufacturers' Association is urging its members to sue any worker who participates.

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The bosses and their friends in the—→p.2

In this issue

Rising struggle in S.A. ... p.3
Green light for US banks p.4
Damien and gay rights... p.7

p. 2

media are quick to call it "blackmail" when Canadian workers decide to use the only real power they have – the right to withdraw their labor power. But, when they, the capitalist owners, succeed in having what little price controls that were proposed rolled back by threatening to stop investing capital in Canada (Shell Canada's statement that it would not invest in Canada after the completion of its Sarnia petro-chemical plant, is an example) because an 85% increase in profits is not enough, this is considered reasonable and just. Just who is blackmailing whom?

Munro was quick to call it "undemocratic" when workers voted, through their local unions, conventions, labor councils, etc., for a day of protest to voice their dissent to the wage controls. But, as Stephen Lewis said, the Liberals had premised an entire election campaign on opposition to controls. Barely more than a year later, the

Continued on page 2

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How come protesting injustice brings charges of illegality?

Continued from page 1

party repudiated that promise, and this the bosses call democratic. Lewis went on to state, "There would be something wrong with the democratic fibre of the country if the people didn't protest that kind of behaviour."

However, these attacks are mild when compared to the way in which Trudeau and his business allies have tried to divide the strength and unity of the Canadian trade union movement by labelling the Day of Protest "illegal", portraying Canadian trade unionists as public criminals and threatening to fire any worker who participates. Suddenly, the Federal government and the CMA have become staunch defenders of the collective agreement.

Their charge that the Day of Protest violates collective agreements is laughable. Jean-Luc Pepin and his AIB wage butchers daily break collective agreements by rolling back negotiated wage increases at the rate of ten a day. It is the very same government that has violated the collective bargaining process time and time again through their relentless use of back to work legislation to break legal strikes of Canadian workers such as the postal and railway workers.

Some companies may charge union locals with breach of agreement under the various labor relations acts and regulations in the different provinces. However, this situation is unlikely to arise because of three factors.

First, the arbitration procedures set up for disputes under labor relations acts are long and complicated. Most cases would never make it to court before the expiration of the agreement at which time all charges are usually dropped during negotiations.

Secondly, the bosses themselves are not united on this strategy. In B.C., William Hamilton, President of the BC Employers' Council, said that employers in BC could adjust to the day of protest without legal actions or firings.

Finally, when the over 2 million organized workers in Canada protest on Oct. 14, to carry out this threat, thousands of cases would have to be launched. One for every union local that supported the protest. Not very likely.

The bosses' attacks on the Day of Protest must be seen for what they really are. They are attempts to splinter the rising militancy and unity within the ranks of Canadian trade unionists against the wage controls.

Forward Forums offer discussion on key issues

By Bill Shier

As the labor movement mounts it most significant offensive in Canadian history, broaching far-reaching challenges that are required to transform society, the need for militants to assess, discuss, debate and clarify their perspective is greater than ever. Toronto Forward Forums attempt to provide a format for these discussions every Friday night at eight p.m. at 53 Gerrard Street West.

The forums regularly cover a wide range of Canadian and world issues that pose the problems and possibilities before the working class movement. Through prepared presentations and a follow-up period of open and lively discussion, they attempt to provide a framework in which militants can come to grips with the way forward.

Forums slated for September include a presentation by Ross Dowson on the Sociology of Trade Unions, focussing on the historic positions of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky and the diverging positions within the Canadian left today. Among other things, the forum will take up the positions of Stan Aronowitz, recently introduced to Canadian readers through **Canadian Dimension**.

As the countdown proceeds toward the Day of Protest, Forward Forums will be sponsoring a panel of activists who will present their views on the tasks before the labor movement. Other forums will be dealing with events connected with the women's movement and the NDP, and questions of international politics.

For more information, or to be included on the mailing list, call 595-1284.

forward #21 Sept 1976

Ottawa aids US military front in South East Asia

By Gord Doctorow

The Canadian government's shameless role as diplomatic agent of US imperialist foreign policy has found a new and important expression in External Affairs Minister Allan MacEachen's unreserved endorsation of the recently formed anti-communist Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) comprising Indonesia, Thailand, the Phillipines, Malaysia, and Singapore. In the wake of the toppling of the rotten structures of the US-installed tinpot dictatorships in Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos, the US state department is in desperate need of a safe cover for its continued military and political presence. Once again it has found a compliant and reliable ally in its Canadian junior partner.

The successful revolutions not only expelled imperialism in much of the Indochina peninsula but also provided a beacon of inspiration for all the masses oppressed by imperialism, especially in ASEAN: the military dictatorship in Indonesia,installed in 1965 in a coup anointed with the bloody corpses of an estimated 500,000 "communists" in that year alone; the unstable corrupt regime in Thailand with its parasitic rulers composed of opium smugglers and aristocratic "generals" exercising authority through an army of internal repression – the last US military base on the Indochina peninsula; the one-man dictatorship in the Phillipines which has created a vast concentration camp, not unlike the former Saigon regime, through martial law backed by generous arms supplies and economic aid from the US; and the neo-colonial military dictatorships in Malaysia and Singapore.

ASEAN is not merely a "loose political and economic grouping" but a diminished archipelago of US military bases to check the "spread of communism" – in other words, to stem the continuation of national revolutions shaking loose imperialism's bloody grasp.

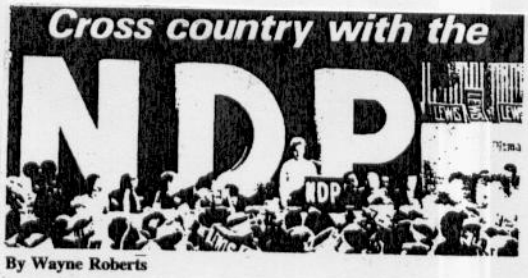
With the same hypocritical doublespeak that the Canadian government employed in covering up US aggression during the Vietnam war, MacEachen justified Canada's identification with ASEAN in the name of supporting democratic institutions and the opportunity for people to determine their own destiny. To make himself perfectly clear, he confessed: "We don't want the US to withdraw from the area. They still have an important role, certainly in the Pacific and probably an even more important role if they get involved in the development program."

While denouncing the supposedly warlike aims of Vietnam, MacEachen extolled the peaceful militarism of the US and cynically stated that Canada would consider the sale of nuclear technology "for peaceful purposes" to the ruthless militarists of Indonesia, thereby posing the greatest threat to world peace and survival.

Canada's stance in South East Asia is just an extension of the government's role as part of the US military network in the North American continent. Whether it is the Defence Production Sharing Agreement which ties Canada economically and politically to its US senior partner, or the NATO/NORAD alliances which commit Canada to colossal expenditures for Lockheed aircraft and tanks in an era of nuclear balance of terror and when inflation is eroding the basis of the economy and robbing workers of their hard-earned wages, the tentacles of the US octopus reach deeply into the totality of Canadian society. Canada's big business government can no more pursue an independent and anti-war foreign policy than it can extricate Canada's economy from its assimilation into the network of US imperialist corporations.

A capitalist and dependent Canada can only play the role of defending reaction against progress and causing the working people and oppressed to pay the price. Canada's and humanity's real future lies in an independent and socialist Canada.

forward #21 Sept 1976



By Wayne Roberts

Militant labor tradition

An attractively designed brochure, titled "Labor and the NDP need each other", based on NDP publicist Des Morton's articles in major union papers over the last year, has just been published. Oriented to the new young forces unfamiliar with labor's political orientation who are coming into the labor movement, the brochure tries to make the basic case for support of the NDP as a labor party.

One unfortunate aspect of the brochure is its concerted attempt to slander traditions of the labor movement that are more militant and radical than those of the middle-of-the-road NDP leadership, a role that Morton is trained in as a result of his decisive efforts in ousting the Waffle.

The brochure dismisses the epic Winnipeg General Strike as a purely syndicalist effort based on narrow unionism which hoped that "the general strike could be used to win small gains without ever dreaming of overthrowing governments". In reality the strike was a massive attempt by Winnipeg workers to break the fierce resistance of Winnipeg capitalists and the federal government to the granting of free collective bargaining. It was led by forces who had assimilated the experiences of decades of class struggle in Canada and who recognized the need for a militant movement of workers aiming for a fundamental transformation of Canada. Many of its leaders were subsequently active in the political strivings of labor in the 1920's and 1930's. None of this warrants the slanderous judgement that "syndicalism suffered a lasting defeat, thanks(!) to the disastrous Winnipeg strike".

Cartoon slanderously portrays role of militants in Canadian labor movement

No holds are barred in Morton's attacks on the attempts to build a party of consistent socialist struggle in the aftermath of the Russian Revolution. According to Morton, the Russian Revolution was a violent coup whose victory depended on liquidation of opponents rather than winning public support. And, he continues, "other versions of the revolutionary, tyrannical route to socialism have been endorsed by a host of minor offshoots from Trotskyites to Maoists".

Of course, the early Communist Party before its degeneration under Stalinism – since which time its traditions have been extended by Trotskyists – was built on the lessons of betrayals of right wing socialists during World War I. They realized moreover that leaders in the mo ild of Schreyer and Blakeney did more harm than good to the workers movement with their faltering before capitalism. But in the effort to build a vital, all-encompassing party of labor, these forces played a central role. And they performed that role not out of admiration for a "tyrannical route to socialism" but because they believed that economic and political struggles of all the working people had to be integrated into one fighting party and because they respected the model of the early years of the Russian Revolution as an inspiring mass movement seething with democracy and high aspirations.

Morton's brochure thus comes off as an attempt to brandish hysteria at radical currents in the working class movement who see the need for a resolute and thorough class struggle perspective and who enjoy a legitimate tradition in the annals of Canadian labor struggles. Such distortions as Morton's will not go over among young militants coming into the struggle, who can judge class struggle socialists by our words and actions, not by the prejudices of Morton. In the Toronto Labor Day Parade, machinists marched with banners identifying the struggle against controls today with such past struggles as the Winnipeg General Strike. There are other traditions, too, which workers will uncover as their struggles deepen.

Reform crisis poses Toronto NDP slate

Confusion and shifting allegiances reign as Toronto prepares for civic elections in the midst of the splintering of Toronto's caucus of reform aldermen. As an increasingly conservative John Sewell clashes with Heap over the necessity of an orientation to tenants, as leadership lights of the caucus step down from office, and with the chairman of the caucus Mike Goldrick complaining that "the issues haven't been revealed in a way that reveals class interest... That is the failure of the caucus: we haven't been able to dramatize and interpret in class terms what city government is all about", the path is being cleared for a real alternative.

The Doverourt riding association, one of the most active and broadly based in the province, has taken one step in the resolution of this challenge by nominating Joe Pantalone as the NDP candidate for one aldermanic position in Ward 4.

Party politics already dominate City Hall, his first leaflet charges, though in a camouflaged way. This partisan, big business oriented Council has capitulated to Liberal and Tory cutback moves by initiating TTC rate hikes, increased property taxes and social service cutbacks.

The leaflet goes on to project an alternative NDP program of taxing corporations rather than home property, urgent building programs and better and cheaper public transportation.

Regrettably, the riding association did not see the logic of extending the effort of running one NDP candidate even in their own ward. One slot was consciously left open for some independent, Liberal or Tory to win.

This decision reflects a basic problem of the NDP, its reluctance to mount a full city-wide slate that could begin to pose an integrated working class struggle at the municipal, provincial and federal levels.

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→p.2

What kind of agricultural policy?

Donald Macdonald, the Ontario MPP who serves as NDP critic on agriculture, recently replied to a

Donald MacDonald, Ontario NDP agricultural critic

Toronto **Star** attack on his "endless crusade against the supermarkets". The **Star** had editorialized for a return to a free market in agriculture and destruction of various marketing boards which exercise "supply management" and pricing powers.

Macdonald points out that the effect of this would "leave control to powerful interests". He defends farmers' attempts to establish marketing boards "because they have learned from bitter experience that governments will not assist in distributing surplus production to those who need it. The inevitable result is a surplus used to drive farm returns down". He concludes: "Unless and until governments are willing to devise means for distribution of our food production to those who need it, supply management will be a necessary accompaniment to any effective income protection program for farmers".

In reality, Macdonald offers no real alternative for either farmers or consumers. Marketing boards, firmly under the control of government and agribusiness, are at least as effective as the free market in leaving "control to powerful interests". They scandalously discriminate against subsistence and marginal farmers so that quotas for agribusiness can be maintained and rewarded with excess profits.

Direction of NDP efforts aimed to benefit small farmers and consumers must lead first and foremost to the destruction of all middlemen from wholesalers to packers' cartels to supermarkets. Farmers, who now receive as little as one fifth the final sale price of their produce, and consumers, whose bills are inflated by the profit demands of intervening parasites, would have no trouble reaching an accomodation under a non-profit, publicly owned packing and distribution system. Farmer and consumer management of this system could with equal ease assure planning for production based on need. Surely this is the direction that NDP agricultural policy must take, not one such as Macdonald's, which is premised and built on the inhuman and irrational rules of capitalism.

Party democracy or caucus control

Clifford Scotton, organizer of the BC NDP, came out with a defence of the leadership's policy on the party-government relationship in the August 11, 1976 issue of the Saskatchewan **Commonwealth**. Although the issue formed the basis of numerous clashes when the BC NDP was in power, he defends the supremacy of the parliamentary caucus over the party:

"If the government is the art of the possible, then legislators must maintain that fine balance between doctrinal purity of the party's philosophy and the practical legislative and administrative activities which go with the administration of the modern state.

"Additionally, elected representatives must, from day to day, respond to events in a specific and tangible manner, given only the guidance of what is often merely an abstract statement of purpose.

"It is the imposition, or the attempt to impose, fairly rigid constitutional requirements or expectations upon a pragmatically developed organism which raises problems..."

In Scotton's argument, the commitment to the supremacy of a caucus of individual MLA's is brazenly intertwined with a political commitment to limited reforms. Is that not what all the "day to day" problems of "the art of the possible" amount to in the face of "rigid" and "abstract" opponents?

1975 BC NDP convention takes standing vote. The proper relation between government caucus and party was hotly disputed when the NDP was in government.

That, of course, has been the real problem of NDP governments in their relation with NDP supporters. These governments are elected on the basis of a party program decided on by party conventions, which "moderate" leaders invariably whittle away in their "art of the possible" world of trying to make accomodations to the pressure of big business.

That is why NDP activists always pressed accountability of the caucus to the party: not because they want to abstractly interfere with the day to day problems of an MLA's service to individual constituents or in tactical maneuvers in the legislature; but because they rightly mistrust the will and ability of the party caucus to fight for our program. In fighting for accountability, the membership is insisting that not only the commitments to the electorate but also the essence of the party's program, be honoured in the face of resistance by big business. That is why the struggle for full party democracy, one dimension of which is accountability of the government to the party, is interlocked with the struggle to make the NDP a real force for social change.

→p.3

forward #21
p.3

Indian socialist jailed

George Fernandes, India's most prominent labor leader, was captured in Calcutta on June 10 by Indian police. He had been underground for nearly a year, since the declaration of open dictatorship by Indira Ghandi.

While the cravenly Moscow-line Communist Parties in both India and Canada were busy hailing the suspension of civil liberties, the muzzling of the press, the massive strikebreaking and the imprisonment of thousands of working class leaders as "further steps toward socialism", Fernandes was risking his life organizing campaigns for democracy across the country.

Fernandes is going to be framed in a show trial – reminiscent of the infamous Moscow Trials of the 1930's – in which the government will "prove" him guilty of leading a conspiracy, in cahoots with the CIA, to murder Mrs. Ghandi with dynamite. Some idea of what awaits him can be had from reports of the savage torture of his non-political brother Lawrence, who can now hardly walk, and from the words of the Attorney General to the Supreme Court: "A man can not only be deprived of his liberty, but also of his life without trial and without even being given the reason therefor..." – although after the lifting of the "emergency", the murdered man's relatives are free to sue the government!

As a leader of the Socialist Party, Fernandes is a member of the Socialist International, to which the NDP belongs. It is the urgent responsibility of the NDP to denounce his brutal treatment at the hands of the Ghandi regime and to demand his immediate release.

Gimmick approaches under question

As polls reveal a first-rate political crisis for the Liberals and a dramatic rise of uncommitted and shifting voters, the NDP stands at the threshold of a major breakthrough. The challenge of directing these possibilities is causing some ferment among editors of major NDP publications.

The editorial in the July-August BC **Democrat** has called into question some techniques of the sanctified "Riverdale system" whereby electioneering proceeds under the direction of imported campaign managers with a slick formula of signs, brochures and three canvasses designed mainly to get the firm NDP vote out on election day. While of course no one can oppose signs, attractive literature or canvassing, this is often falsely presented as an alternative to mass rallies or the involvement of the NDP in extra-parliamentary struggles which have the possibility of deepening consciousness and dedication amidst widespread layers of activists and those under their influence. The **Democrat** editorial unfortunately does not present such a perspective but focuses on such matters as the need for voter opinion polls and the like. Nevertheless it is a challenge to the party leadership's electoralist orthodoxy which can be used as an opening for militants in the party.

Much more significant is the editorial in the summer issue of the Alberta **Democrat**. The primary task of the NDP, the editorial argues, is the political education and preparation of the population for the anticapitalist struggles that lie ahead. The editor criticizes Broadbent for obscuring this task in recent months in his attempts to make "news" by jumping on media-sponsored outbursts against federal Liberal ineptness and corruption.

In a manner reminiscent of **Forward's** coverage of the Judges' Affair, he criticizes Broadbent for falling into media traps of sensationalism, obscuring "the central issue of the criminal workings of monopoly capitalism. Second, it gives the erroneous impression that all that has to be done to improve things is replace the Liberal villains with honest men of whatever political stripe – completely ignoring the fact that the Liberals are there precisely because of their intimate ties with monopoly capital..." The editorial charges him with repeating the error in his comments on the infamous Skyshop scandal.

All this, the editorial continues, "has little or nothing to do with the essential tasks of educating the Canadian people to the kind of society in which we live and to the changes that must be wrought, changes that only the Canadian people themselves can bring about".

As the population across the country enters a course of unprecedented questioning, an approach based on fundamental education and participation in daily struggles, not media ploys and electoral campaign gimmicks, points the way forward for the NDP.

forward #21 Sept 1976

Editor: Wayne Roberts

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Sask NDP raises control over potash, CPR barons

By Bill Langley

The NDP government in Saskatchewan is leading the way in the area of social planning in the interests of working people. Using tax funds accumulated from diminishing oil resources to secure ownership of other natural resources for the province's future, the NDP recently purchased the Duval Corp. of Canada (controlled by Pennzoil Co. of Houston) giving the province ownership of 15% of total potash production there.

Two more corporations have been named as serious prospects for negotiating their takeover by the government, which could potentially transfer 35% of all potash production to the public domain on the way to the NDP's target of a minimum 50% ownership. This course is a demonstration of the way Canada can repatriate its natural wealth from the clutches of the rapacious foreign-owned (mainly US) imperialist corporations, with the benefits accruing to the people.

The Saskatchewan NDP has also responded to the crisis of transportation engendered by the CNR/CPR policy of phasing out unprofitable freight services which are vital to the survival of agricultural communities. CPR has gone so far as to unilaterally drop rail services for inland grain terminals although promising to replace such services – which they are obliged to provide by law, a minor concession on this publicly initiated and privately-owned profit-bloated corporation's part – with truck services. True to form, CPR even reneged on providing minimal services with trucks, compelling the province to lift licenses for CPR vehicles. As usual the federal court sided with CPR and, as a result, many small Saskatchewan towns are on the abyss of becoming ghost towns. In response, the NDP Transport Minister called for the amalgamation of CNR and CPR, declaring that "the largest single obstacle to good rail service is the existence of two companies. Unified management of railways as a public utility is the answer."

The Saskatchewan NDP's introduction of the socialization of industry to serve the needs of the people of the province against the profit drives of the corporate monopolies constitutes a colossal confirmation of socialist solutions to the chronic ravages of capitalism. It is shocking to contemplate that this same government has aligned itself with Trudeau's wage freeze and against the interests of the workers.

The contradictions within the Saskatchewan NDP present the riddle of Canadian labor politics. For despite the instrumentality of the organized labor movement in launching the NDP and bringing it to governmental power, Premier Blakeney's wage freeze policy has resulted in a provincial AIB which was recently used to roll back a settlement of the Saskatchewan Power Corporation (a provincial crown corporation). Moreover, when the SPC workers decided to strike against this outrage – particularly when viewed against the scene of a 56% pay increase the government recently legislated for itself – Blakeney threatened to pass back-to-work legislation.

Objectively, the NDP government expresses the interests of the workers inasmuch as it poses labor politics independent of big business. However, the opportunist leadership of the party finds itself adopting policies which are contrary to the interests of labor.

Clive Ballentine, an officer of the building trades and of the Metro Toronto Labor Council, dealt with this problem at the CLC convention in May. He remarked that when the NDP was founded, the labor leadership allowed the "eggheads" to run the party. Now, he said, it was time to rescue the party by having the trade unionists take it over and implement pro-labor policies.

Part of the answer to the riddle of the NDP lies in Ballantine's proposal. However, it must be recalled that the right wing leadership of the party was installed with the support of the labor brass, who aided in hounding the pro-labor socialist wing out of the party. Now, when labor is facing its most difficult crisis, these socialists are called upon to complete the struggle for a left wing they began and for which they have been vindicated. Therein lies the other part of the answer to the riddle.

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Labor council, NDP support gay rights

By Richard Hunt

"Gay Rights right now!" was loudly proclaimed by over 300 demonstrators gathered in Toronto on September 4th. The theme of the march as expressed by Terry Phillips, chairman of the rally was job security for gays.

In keeping with that theme, the rally and demonstration focused on the case of John Damien by calling for his re-instatement as racing steward at the Ontario Racing Commission. The Damien case has brought the plight of gay people to a national forum in his attempt to regain the position he was summarily dismissed from on the grounds that he is a homosexual.

The meeting was addressed at City Hall by representatives from gay men's and women's groups as well as socialist organizations and the Metro Toronto Labor Council. The Labor council reaffirmed their opposition to discrimination against gay people on the basis of their sexual orientation.

Jim Turk, president of the ONDP, stated that the NDP stood opposed to discrimination against gays and he linked together the struggle of gay people with other oppressed groups in society. He pointed out that changing the laws was only the first step in the struggle for equality. Gay people like immigrants, blacks and women will continue to be oppressed even if laws are changed, because of the need for capitalism to function through their exploitation. Thus, stated Turk, gay people must continue to struggle for their rights as well as for the transformation of capitalist society towards a "humane socialism".

That oppression of gays continues around us is clear. The Damien case has become a symbol for the day-to-day struggle many gays already experience at work or in their social life.

Recently, however, the gay movement won an important victory in Vancouver. There, the Vancouver **Sun**, that "defender" of the public right to know and freedom of the press, refused to allow the publication **Gay Tide** to place an advertisement. It did this even after admitting in open hearing that there was nothing offensive or illegal about the publication itself.

It based its attack solely on a defense of the vulgar prejudices held by its owners that gay people were an evil menace simply because they were gay. Because these offensive biases still permeate capitalist society, the **Sun** maintained it had a right to maintain them in their practices. To this charge **Gay Tide's** lawyer and the British Columbia Human Rights Commission held that the "existence of social prejudice offers no excuse for legal discrimination."

They were firmly supported by the British Columbia Supreme Court, which ordered that damages be paid by the **Sun** to **Gay Tide**.

The victory in Vancouver is an important one for all people in Canada, not just for gay people in the struggle for civil rights.

It comes at an important time as gays in Montreal and Ottawa have come under severe repression and police harassment under the pretext of Olympic Games security. In Montreal, 110 people were arrested over one weekend in police raids. In Ottawa, police arrested 28 people at the Club Baths and confiscated files containing the names of almost 3000 members. The only crime of these people was their free choice of sexual attitude.

As job security in the current economic downturn becomes more tenuous, we must guard against the attempts of the bosses to split the ranks of the working class by playing on social prejudices that have no rational basis. As the September 4th demonstration and the victory over the Vancouver **Sun** prove, the struggle of gay people for their rights continues to grow in strength and force.

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forward #21 Oct 1976

"Women in the Canadian Mosaic"

Uncovering Cdn feminism's past

By Ellie Kirzner

It has to be admited that there is something bizarre when Canadian researchers know more about American feminist Elizabeth Cady Stanton than they know about Nellie McClung. All the more so when we consider that the modern Canadian women's movement was no lagging poor cousin to the American movement, but intrinsically rooted in the Canadian political reality. Why then did the movement to the south produce such a medley of material on women and the one to the north exist in such intellectual poverty?

The growth of women's materials in Canada tarried so outrageously behind the strength of organized feminist sentiment here, and so far behind the US that one can only conclude that Canadian feminism itself could not escape the overbearing effects of American cultural domination. This is not to invoke any of the nonsense about the "imperialism" of American feminism, but rather to point to the underdevelopment of the book trade, the paucity of research funding, and the inundation of the American magazine industry as blocks to the budding movement. It took the push of nationalist sentiment to compel dissatisfied Canadian feminists to search out the unique social patterns of Canadian life – a process which is yielding fruit as the vitality of journals like **Branching Out, Priorities**, and **Atlantis** demonstrate.

One of the recent contributions is a collection of essays, **Women in the Canadian Mosaic**, edited by Gwen Matheson, who herself deems the book an attempt to remedy the depressing deficiency and who declares it high time that Canadian women achieve "a consciousness of reform from within, and not so much for advice from without."

The book opens with a vigorous sketch of Nellie McClung by Matheson and V. E. Lang which deftly dispells any notion that early suffragists were parochial or narrow of vision. In the world view of the shrewd and sharp-witted McClung

we can make some attempt to piece together the temperament of turn-of-the century feminism casually intermingling women's rights, reform methodism, temperance and pacifism – all equally contenders to the "better country" of which women activists dreamed. But the Matheson-Lang version is celebrationist at exactly those points where it ought to be analytical. While we all want to find our traditions, we are going to have to accept the fact that they are not always what we would have chosen.

To revamp Marx's adage, women make their own history, but they do not do it just as they please – and at the turn of the century they did it within the context of seething urbanization, widespread racism and class chauvinism, self-righteous religiosity, and a conception of womanhood which celebrated and elevated her maternal functions as the source of social order and moral virtue.

It's hard to imagine contemporary women's liberationists being much enchanted with McClung's dictum that "women have cleaned out things since time began; and if women ever get into politics there will be a cleaning out of pigeon holes and forgotten corners, on which the dust of years has fallen, and the sound of the political carpet beater will be heard in the land." But then the point of history is not to rifle it for what is "useful", but to unravel it so it elucidates the present. What we are coming to discover from our past is that when women declared in the sixties that their liberation was psychic, sexual, social and economic, and freed from all prior assumptions about the nature of womanhood, they were with few exceptions separating themselves from their foremothers,

⇒p.2

Nellie McClung, leading Canadian suffragist

who chose to define their feminism through their domestic functions.

On the way to the modern movement, the Voice of Women founded in 1960 was a half-way house. Kay Macpherson and Meg Sears, in their contribution to the book, provide an interesting account of the origins and growth of the VOW, which was tinged with the brush of 19th century domestic feminism. Predating by a good seven years the women's liberation explosion, the VOW was forged by the nightmare of nuclear weapons, and nourished by a conception of women that highlighted their occupation as mothers and their "intuitive" concern with peace and international cooperation.

The book approaches an analysis of the modern movement through Lynn Teather's brave attempt to trace Canadian feminism from our pioneer heroines to the fragmented and dispersed state of women's activism today. On the strong side, Teather has a sense for what we need to know, exploring the revealing and unique facets of Canadian society and attempting to make some order out of regional isolation, and multiculturalism as determinants of political fragmentation.

But the presentation falls far short of its possibilities in its characterization of the movement of the sixties. Teather describes the perspectives which contended in the women's liberation milieu with careful detail, but in a vacuum and without regard to what was ever the key issue – the construction of a mass feminist radicalization. As a result, she ends up giving voice to the old tired mythologies centering on the reputed "infiltration" of women from left organizations into the women's movement. Missing entirely the nature of those early debates – bitter contests over whether the movement would grow through commitment to life-style and counter culture or through mass campaigns – Teather reduced political debate to organizational discomfort. Nonetheless, she has made the great plunge – it is after all the first attempt to detail the modern movement. Teather shouldn't mind if many of us consider it merely the first draft and seek revisions of our own.

Toronto demonstration of 2000 protests government inaction during International Women's Year.

Women in the Canadian Mosaic bends perhaps a little too much to where we have just come from and primly refuses to engage in speculations about our future. Still, one can't help feeling the irony of CUPE president Grace Hartman's little article sandwiched between the paradoxes of the woman writer and women in the universities. While the article itself is an unassuming contribution to the problem of the lack of organization of women workers, Hartman's stature in the upcoming national strike may be ominously foretelling of a reconstructed women's liberation movement built this time through the energies of Canada's working women.

forward #21 Sept 1976

Cop brutality report poses citizen control

By Harry Kopyto

The royal commission on Toronto police practices, appointed by the government of Ontario to quell anger resulting from newspaper revelations of police brutality last year, has handed in its report. Ontario Supreme Court Judge Morand confirmed some of the most hideous cases of torture.

Morand documented cases of police "interrogation" sessions where devices like staplers and mechical claws were applied to the penis and other parts of the victim's body. The report accused police officers of covering up, falsifying evidence and even lying to the Commission itself. Police complaint bureau reports were revealed to have been arbitrarily changed by superiors.

Morand's recommendations, however, are of a procedural character, designed to deal with obvious abuses and strengthen citizen input into the complaints bureau. For years, the complaints bureau has been so discredited that the members of the Toronto-based Criminal Lawyers Association advise their clients to circumvent the bureau in order to get a fair hearing. Many of Morand's recommendations would make it more difficult for police to fabricate evidence and abuse a public lulled by US television programs into believing that they have rights which are in fact non-existent in Canadian law.

But the task is not to make illegal police operations difficult. It is to stop such activities. In this respect, the Morand report misses the mark.

One of the key factors in fostering an intimidating police force is its isolation from the populace and the secrecy of its operations. The arbitrary power of those who control the police and their unaccountability to the public permits the police to engage in a variety of unpopular enterprises.

Control of the Toronto police lies in the hands of the Metro Board of Police Commissioners, which jealously guards its power. The chairman of the commissioners since the Board was created 20 years ago is C.O. Bick. Three of the members of the Board are provincial government appointees. Of the remaining two, one is a commissioner by virtue of his position as Metro Chairman, and the other is appointed by Metro Council.

The Commission has been described as arrogant, insensitive and secretive. With no direct responsibility to the public, the commissioners hold arbitrary power over the police force and its varied operations. Without public accountability, the force is unrestricted in its anti-social behaviour from bigotry to strikebreaking.

The Board Chairman, C.O. Bick, along with Police Chief Harold Adamson, have strongly opposed replacing the present appointed members with elected representatives.

Morand's confirmation of widespread police brutality, intimidation and abuse poses the need for an elected civilian board to hold final authority in all complaints and over all police operations. By contesting and winning positions on such a board, the labor movement and working people of Canada will be in a position to challenge the infringement on civil liberties and the use of police in confrontations with picket lines and demonstrators. A representative civilian tribunal would be under obligation to mete out justice to police offenders in place of present coverups.

The elimination of the present kangaroo courts against violators of the Police Act and the insistence that a public board be accountable for all police actions would clearly help establish public control over the police.

The direct election of labor, tenant, and minority group representatives could strengthen the watchdog function of the board, and assert control over police actions.

With the opportunity of the municipal elections later this year, the demand for a representative board to control the police takes on increasing urgency.

Socialist FORUM

Oct 4

IS CANADA HEADING FOR A DEPRESSION?

How will the Canadian economy, tied as it is to the American colossus, be affected by the deepening world imperialist economic crisis? Why have stock market values fallen to pre-1962 levels? What is the meaning of today's stagflation?

Oct 18

VALENTYN MOROZ AND THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM IN THE UKRAINE

A panel will discuss the on-going struggle for civil rights and self-determination in the Ukrainian SSR. Included in the panel will be a member of the Ukrainian-Canadian University Students Union.

Nov 1

THE UPSURGE IN CANADIAN LABOR STRUGGLES

Hear long-time socialist and labor writer Ross Dowson speak on the issues before the OFL convention and analyse the problems facing organized labor in the face of inflation and lay-offs.

Friday nights at 8

to be held at
ST. PAUL'S UNITED CHURCH
on Avenue Road - Entrance on Webster Street, one block below Davenport.

Question and Discussion period * Refreshments

For information: 363-6755

COMMITTEE IN DEFENSE OF POLISH WORKERS
P.O. Box 130
Station M
Toronto, Ontario

October 6, 1976

Dear Friends,

The Committee in Defense of Polish Workers is organizing a meeting on Friday, October 29th at 8:00 p.m., which will discuss the case of workers imprisoned for their participation in the recent strike wave in Poland. The main speakers at the meeting will be Michel Chartrand, President of the Montreal Council of the CNTU, Joe Messlin, Vice President of the International Hatters and Milliners Union, and Marko Bojcun for the Committee. The Committee is composed of representatives of various left groups, including the Committee in Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners which was formed out of the Plyushch Tour Committee which organized the April 14th rally at which Leonid Plyushch, the recently released Soviet marxist dissident spoke.

The main purpose of the meeting is to present an up-to-date report on the situation in Poland, and to express solidarity with worker militants imprisoned, victimised and fired from their jobs as a result of their role in the recent events. We hope to generate the kind of solidarity that will release all those imprisoned.

The Committee feels that the most valuable support in this case can come from the labour movement in Canada and from those groups and individuals who have a clear record in defense of democratic and social rights.

If you support the main objectives of our Committee, we ask you to: a) sign and circulate the enclosed petition among your membership; b) display and circulate the enclosed informational literature; and c) sponsor the October 29th meeting, by sending us a letter of support to the above address.

For the Committee

Marko Bojcun

Marko Bojcun

(Found in 1976)

DEFEND THE JAILED POLISH WORKERS

SPEAKERS:

Michel Chartrand

PRESIDENT MONTREAL CENTRAL COUNCIL CNTU QUEBEC

Joe Meslin

CANADIAN VICE-PRESIDENT UNITED INTERNATIONAL HATTERS UNION

Marko Bojcun

COMMITTEE TO DEFEND POLISH WORKERS

Friday October 29

8:00pm

Ontario College of Education

371 BLOOR ST. W.

(SOUTH-EAST CORNER OF SPADINA AND BLOOR)

(Found in 1976)

MEETING TO DEFEND THE JAILED POLISH WORKERS

SPEAKERS: MICHEL CHARTRAND, CNTU, QUEBEC

JOE MESSLIN, HATTER INTERNATIONAL UNION, TORONTO

MARKO BOJCUN, COMMITTEE IN DEFENSE OF POLISH WORKERS

Thousands of workers in Poland went out on strike in June of this year to protest a government decision to raise the price of food. Meat was to go up sixty percent. cheese fifty percent, sugar one hundred percent and fish sixty-nine percent. Given that a family in Poland spends at least forty percent of its income on food, these price rises were justifiably intolerable.

In response to the increase in prices, strikes took place in Warsaw, Pozan, Wriclaw, Gdnask, Lodz, Radom, Szecin and many other cities and towns. This mass protest halted production throughout the country and forced Prime Minister Piotr Jaroszewicz to rescind the price hike. After several days, he again ordered a less severe price rise and the arrest of leading strikers and protesters. These repressions continue today- hundreds of workers have been brutally interrogated, layed off and fired from their jobs, and several dozen have been sentenced to prison terms by the courts.

The main issues at stake here are the right of Polish workers to strike in defense of their living standards and the fact that many of their brothers and sisters are in prison for exercising that right. Canadian workers know only too well, that without the strike weapon, their economic and political rights go virtually unprotected today. This, after all, is the meaning of the October 14th strike against the Trudeau government's wage controls, and for this reason demands the active participation of all workers in this country.

The Committee in Defense of Polish Workers has been established in Toronto to publicise the case of the imprisoned militants and to pressure the Polish government to release them immediatley. We believe that the support of working people in Canada for this cause is the most effective solidarity we can mobilise.

We invite you to come and hear the case for the Polish workers and to show your solidarity with the imprisoned brothers and sisters.

MEETING: FRIDAY, OCTOBER 29th 8:00 p.m.

Committee in Defense of Polish Workers
P.O. Box 130, Station M, Toronto

To: The Polish Embassy
443 Daly Avenue
Ottawa, Ontario
K1N 6A3

We, the undersigned, believing that workers of all countries must have the right to strike without reprisal, demand that authorities in Poland release all workers imprisoned for their participation in the June/July strike wave in that country.

Name:	Address:
Gordon & Roslyn Doctorow	169 Rusty Crestway, Willowdale, Ont., Canada

MEETING MEETING MEETING

on the National Day of Protest

MEETING MEETING MEETING

THIS FRIDAY

Oct. 8 8 p.m.

The rising struggles of labor

A panel of three active trade unionists discuss the significance of the Day of Protest for the socialist struggle in Canada.

SPEAKERS: Joe Meslin, Can. Vice President of the United Hatters Union
Andre Bekerman, author and spokesman on the subject of worker's control
Calvin Johansson, labor council delegate from USWA local 6540

252 Bloor W room n201

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Forward Forum

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53 Gerrard St. West (at Bay) INFORMATION: 595-1284

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S.E. 1976

DON'T JUST STAY AWAY FROM CLASSES ON THURSDAY —

JOIN CANADA'S NATIONAL DAY OF PROTEST

QUEEN'S PARK, 11:00 AM, THURSDAY OCTOBER 14

SUPPORT OCTOBER 14 DAY OF PROTEST

There should be no mistaking the fact that students have felt and will continue to feel the direct impact of decisions made by the Anti-inflation Board (AIB).

- This summer thousands of students across the country had jobs in offices and plants in which wage increases were ordered rolled back by the AIB.

- In Ontario, as in the rest of Canada, parents are expected to contribute a major portion of their child's educational costs. With wage controls, many parents are finding it even more difficult to provide this support than usual.

—and—

- After graduation, students will face the prospect of controls on a more permanent basis. All students graduating during the next two years will be going into jobs (if they are fortunate enough to find one) in which wage increases will be restricted to 2% annually.

Almost as important as what wage controls do to students is what price controls don't do for students. Ninety per cent of the costs that students face are exempt from the controls programme! This includes: food costs at the farm gate; non-labor costs of housing; public transportation; energy costs; tuition fees; incidental fees; and all imported items.

STUDENTS AND RESTRAINTS/CUTBACKS

Along with controls, the Federal and Provincial Governments have introduced a policy of restraint/cutbacks in health, education and social servies as another "front in the war on inflation".

- Post-secondary education has been one of the victims of the restraint/cutback policy in Ontario. The legacy of these cutbacks have become all too familiar: class sizes have grown, tutorials have been cancelled, course selection has been reduced, library hours have been restricted, library acquisitions have shrunk, extension courses discontinued, and all types of equipment either left in disrepair or not replaced.

DISTRIBUTE LEAFLETS, SPEAK, BRING A FRIEND----

*Tuesday, 3 p.m., Moot Court Osgood Hall, when Dr. Bette Stephenson, Provincial Minister of Labor speaks.
*Wednesday, 12 noon, Moot Court Osgoode Hall, panel discussion on the A.I.B. and the Day of Protest.

For more information, contact Paul Kellogg, 667-2515.

- As was mentioned above, tuition fees are not subject to price controls. Consequently, students from coast to coast either have received or are about to receive massive increases in the tuition they pay. In Alberta, for example, fees have been increased 25% for 1976-77 and are going to rise another 25% in 1977-78. Here in Ontario, international students face a 300% increase in fees beginning this fall in the community colleges. The McKeough/Henderson Report, suggests raising tuition fees in Ontario for all students by 65% over the next three (3) years.

Many other areas hit by the cutbacks restraints policies of the Anti-inflation programme are of serious concern to students as well:

- Recent "money-saving" proposals for the Unemployment Insurance Programme include increasing the eligibility requirements for receipt of benefits from 8 weeks work in the last year to 12 weeks. As a result, 50% of students will be effectively disentitled since the average number of weeks worked during the summer term is eleven (11).

- Cutbacks in daycare facilities will make it even more difficult for single and married parents to attend college or university.

And the list goes on and on.....

The net result of the cutbacks is more than predictable, reduced access to post-secondary education for students from poor and working class backgrounds, a continuing drop in the quality of education received accompanied by increasing costs to the individual student, and a general decline in students' standard of living. The only sector of society that has consistently opposed this policy of restraint/cutbacks is the Canadian Labor Movement.

It is easy to argue the merits of supporting the National Day of Protest on the basis of students' self-interest. But in addition to this, students must also see the importance of taking responsible positions on matters that affect others as well as themselves. For these reasons, we are supporting the National Day of Protest.

SUPPORT THE DAY OF PROTEST AT YORK

- TUESDAY, OCT. 12, NOON; ROOM 035 ADMIN. STUDIES BUILDING – MEETING OF THE OCTOBER 14 SUPPORT COMMITTEE – ALL WELCOME.

- TALK TO YOUR CLASSMATES, CO-WORKERS; DISTRIBUTE THIS LEAFLET – COPIES IN CYSF OFFICE, CLUBS ROOM.

ON OCTOBER 14 ITSELF:

- THERE WILL BE PICKETS AROUND YORK CAMPUS IN THE MORNING – RESPECT THE PICKET LINES, LEAVE YORK FOR A DAY, JOIN THE PROTEST, 11 a.m., QUEEN'S PARK.

- STUDENTS – MEET WITH OTHER STUDENTS FROM TORONTO, CONVOCATION HALL, U. of T., 10:45 a.m. MARCH TO QUEEN'S PARK AS A UNITED STUDENT CONTINGENT – 2.30 p.m., TEACH-IN, MEDICAL SCIENCE BUILDING, U. of T.

STUDENTS, FACULTY, STAFF — ALL MEMBERS OF THE YORK COMMUNITY:

STATEMENT OF THE OCTOBER 14 SUPPORT COMMITTEE AT YORK, an ad hoc committee of students, faculty, staff and other on-campus workers who support the National Day of Protest.

All members of the York community are hurt by the Federal Government's program of wage and price controls.

While our resources of income are kept down there is no serious attempt by the government to control the prices we must pay for goods and services. Vital Social Services including education are being cut back in the name of restraint.

These controls were imposed by the Trudeau government just 15 months after winning an election on a program of opposition to wage controls. Such blatant disregard for democratic process gives Canadians just cause to exercise the basic right to protest.

Therefore the Canadian Labor Congress has called for October 14, 1976 to be a National Day or Protest.

We support the National Day of Protest and call upon all members of the York University community:

- not to work or hold and attend classes on Thursday, October 14
- to respect picket lines on campus, and
- to participate in protest activities

PARTIAL LIST, SUPPORTERS OF THE OCTOBER 14 SUPPORT COMMITTEE AT YORK.

Rick Makohoniuk, recording secretary, CUPE local 1356
Marion Boyd, executive assistant, York University Faculty Association
Graduate Assistant Association
Murray Miskin, executive chairperson, Ontario Federation of Students
Michael Hollett, managing editor, Excalibur
Gael Silzer, York University NDP
Harold White, Third World Students' Association
Anhelyna Szuch, Ukrainian Canadian Students' Association
George Manios, Hellenic Students' Association, past vice-president, CYSF
Paul Trollope, vice-president, external affairs, Osgoode Legal & Literary Society
Michael Vitopoulos, CYSF representative, graduate students
Barry Edson, President, CYSF
Michael Copeland, professor
Michael Mandel, prof, Osgoode Hall
Alan Grant, professor, Osgoode Hall
Jack Gazan, external affairs commissioner, Atkinson Student Assoc. executive; member of Ontario Federation of Students
Paul Kellogg, United Left Coalition
Gary Kinsman, United Left Coalition
Joanne Pritchard, member of Bethune College Council
Evan Leibovitch, vice-president student services, CYSF
Mary Marrone, CYSF representative, Calumet
Donna Mobbs, CYSF representative, Calumet
Abie Weisfeld CYSF representative, graduate students
Robert Kasher CYSF representative, graduate students
Paul Trollope, vice-president, external affairs of Osgoode Legal & Literature Society
Wayne Roberts, Faculty, Social Science

organizations listed after individuals' names for identification purposes only.

Russian Revolution class series

Each Friday night at 8:00 pm
Forward Forum
53 Gerrard St. W.
(at Bay)
595-1284

On the occasion of the fifty-ninth anniversary of the Russian Revolution a two-part class is being presented.

Class I, October 22nd: Why the Revolution Took Place

Was the October 1917 revolution the actual result of the political manouverings of the Bolsheviks or their response to the deeprooted social conditions of the times? How could an agrarian nation like Czarist Russia give rise to a socialist revolution?

Recommended readings: Results and Prospects & the Permanent Revolution, Leon Trotsky;
The Prophet Armed, Isaac Deutscher

Class II, November 5th: What Happened to the Russian Revolution

Did the workers' republic of the Soviet Union revert back to a form of capitalism or did the revolution survive the degeneration under Stalinist rule? Did socialism survive?

Recommended reading: From Lenin to Stalin, Victor Serge
On Defence of October, Leon Trotsky

Class coordinator: Harry Kopyto, a long time socialist educator in addition to being a well-known Canadian political lawyer.

Even in 1921, on the fourth anniversary of revolutionary October, the revolution is still depicted as sweeping forward irresistibly

(October 29th the forum is cancelled in support of the united front meeting called to Defend the Jailed Polish Workers. Speakers include Joe Meslin, Michael Chartrand and Marko Bojcun of the Committee to Defend Polish Workers. Friday October 29, 8:00 pm at the Ontario College of Education, 371 Bloor St. W. at Spadina)

Reading material for each of the classes is available in the Forward Books shop at 53 Gerrard St. W. during the hours of 11:00 to 5:15 each day except sunday and from 7:15 to 10:30 pm each friday evening or at the Forward booktable at York University, thursday from 11:00 to 2:00 and other days.

To be notified of the particular forums each friday, a forum mailing service is available free by calling 595-1284 or leaving your address with a forum organizer in your area.

Forward Forum

53 Gerrard St. W., Toronto, Ontario October 26, 1976

League for Socialist Action,
334 Queen St.,
Toronto, Ontario

Dear Comrades,

Arising out of the discussion between the organizational secretary of the League for Socialist Action, Art Young, and Abie Weisfeld, the organizer of the Socialist League, we have discussed the proposal from Comrade Young that the Socialist League and the League for Socialist Action open up a discussion towards the goal of collaboration in certain work areas to culminate in a fusion of our two organizations.

At this time we are unaware of any substantial reasons to cause us to consider such a situation is opening up although we in general favor a regroupment of Trotskyist forces on the basis of common perspectives arising out of concrete experiences and assessments. However we are prepared to consider any case you might be prepared to present to us.

Fraternally,

Abie Weisfeld for the Socialist League

Meaning of the Pan-Canadian October 14th Day of Protest

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

forward

Vol. 2, No. 10 October 1976 Toronto 5 20 Cents

Schreyer's illusions get cut short by realities of AIB wage slashing

By Paul Kane

NDP Premier Ed Schreyer is in grave difficulty over the federal Anti-Inflation Program. The AIB is now launching legal action against his government for defying its rulings. And he has made it known that his government will in all probability pull out of its agreement with Ottawa when it expires this coming April.

When Schreyer declared his support "almost entirely" of Trudeau's policies, echoing his line that "we must change our life style", and then signed his government in behind the AIB, he was roundly condemned by labor as a sell-out and betrayer. Schreyer attempted a defense of his policy in the pages of the NDP federal office publication **Viewsletter**, claiming that his stance, not that of "Marxists or revolutionaries", was a positive one, necessary to make what he called "our political system work for us."

The AIB caught up with Premier Schreyer. His government agreed to a 14% wage increase for health-workers – but it was rolled back to 8%. It agreed to a 24% increase for the liquor store workers – but the AIB rolled it back to 12%. Recognizing the complete justice of the original settlements Schreyer admitted that it is "very difficult to live with" these AIB decisions.

His appeal to the workers who have to live on the rolled-back wage not to take strike action, has been accepted, on the grounds that his government fully agreed with the original settlements and is attempting to have the AIB rulings rescinded. In the meantime the Manitoba Liquor Control Commission took the decision to pay its 400 employees the 24% increase, despite the AIB ruling.

At this point Schreyer, while stating that he was "profoundly disappointed with the application of the letter and spirit of the Anti-Inflation Act" nonetheless affirmed that he still endorses the concept of Trudeau's program.

In this situation, the Manitoba Federation of Labor has had difficulty mounting an effective campaign against the wage freeze in con-

→p.2

Labor's future in new found unity

By the editors

After October 14, Canada will never be the same.

For the first time, key sectors of the entire Canadian economy, from one coast to another, have been brought to a paralyzing halt. The workers in the basic steel plants, the giant auto factories and the larger fabricating plants, the major mines, the larger pulp, paper, lumber mills, all the postal services, essential transportation facilities and important sections of government administration, numbering well over a million, walked off the job for 24 hours.

This general strike united in one powerful movement the unskilled, semi-skilled and skilled of all kinds. While called by the 2,300,000 strong Canadian Labor Congress it fused together in a common action all unionists, regardless of affiliation. And for the first time, the Quebec workers were in coordinated action with the rest of the Canadian union movement.

The trade unions put themselves at the head of this broader mass action with the central aim of smashing the wage freeze imposed by the Liberal Federal government, in alliance with the Progressive Conservatives and Socreds just one year ago. At the same time they gave the lie to the boss propaganda that the union struggles do nothing but serve the bread and butter interests of their own members, by providing the framework for a broader social action. In answer to the CLC call, the pan-Canadian demonstrations encompassed thousands of members of the post-secondary student federations, day care activists, senior citizens, tenants and members of numerous other community organizations, widening it into a struggle against the savage cutbacks in social services that have been enforced at the federal and all the provincial and municipal levels of government.

A massive social movement

Thereby the October 14 actions transcended the struggle against the wage freeze and assumed the character of a massive social movement taking up the varied grievances and causes of all the victims of the capitalist system.

October 14 was not only a political strike of the most massive scope in Canadian history, but it was a strike on all the major social problems confronting every element of the working class. It was a strike not against individual corporations, but against the capitalist class as a whole; not just against Trudeau, but against the political stooges of capitalism in every level of government, and against the total system itself.

The struggle that commenced one year ago, culminating in October 14, has shaken up and set off new alignments in every social and political formation and institution in the country. Everyone and everything has been put to a harsh test.

After the Liberals had opposed the Tory election campaign for controls – and despite the considered judgement of the most eminent economists in the academic world that the controls would have no effect on the impact of stagflation, and even the admission of Labor Minister Munro himself that wages are not the source of inflation, and such warnings as the director of Research for the Economic Policy Committee of the C.D. Howe Research Institute that singling labor as the villain causing inflation is "incorrect and counter-positive" – the Trudeau government nonetheless ploughed blindly ahead. It continued to sweep more and more workers under the wage freeze, imposing an increasing number of rollbacks, fines and penalties – and at each complaint eased off the token restrictions on the profiteering of the corporations and interest gouging of the banks.

From first ridiculing labor's opposition as so much bluster, the leading spokesmen of the government and its defenders veered to threatening would-be strikers and protesters with punitive actions. Upon the failure of these efforts to convince any sizeable body that to protest is illegal, religious leaders such as United Churchman Rev. W. Clarke joined in to pronounce a walk-out even for one day, as "substantially immoral" because the workers rights as yet "are not being destroyed." Labor Minister Munro even resorted to advising the CLC leadership, in an aside during a speech to a

Continued on page 2

What awaits labor and CLC Manifesto?

By Ross Dowson

The mobilization of labor's power against government attempts to foist the crisis of the capitalist system on labor's back marks a giant advance in the struggle for social justice which will set off whole series of chain reactions. But whatever else comes out of October 14 it is obvious that what has become known as tripartism, which the CLC leadership has been projecting at recent union conventions, will get nowhere whatsoever.

The post-October 14 period will see even a stepping up of ploys and gestures in the direction of labor from Labor Minister Munro and Prime Minister Trudeau. It is even probable that Tory leader Joe Clark, as he calls for unlimited corporate profits as being non-inflationary, will be nervously making eyes at and even advances to labor. There will be conferences, think-tanks, with invitations to labor, galore, even lavish suppers with exchanged intimacies and confidences, later, over brandy and cigars at 24 Sussex Street. But they will not transcend the level of consultation which, the CLC leadership rejected with justified indignation this spring as they dramatically pulled out of the Economic Council of Canada and the Canadian Labor Relations Council.

There certainly won't be what executive vice-president Shirley Carr described before a Quebec City union convention as "full partnership" of the CLC "with government and business in national planning of economic and social policies," or even a beginning in that direction. And there won't be what CLC Secretary Treasurer Don Montgomery told a Montreal convention **Labor's Manifesto** called for: "an equal share by labor, business and government in the decision-making powers over econ-

Continued on page 3

Gov't provokes postal workers

Less than a year ago, the Trudeau government gave the postal workers a vicious working over. Working in a high profile public service, post office employees and their union were cynically selected out by the Big Business government to further inflate the myth of the "greedy", the "public-be-damned" unions.

Suddenly, only ten days before Labor's Day of Protest and its successes in establishing that labor's cause is that of all working people, postal officials arrogantly declared that they would accept no decisions from a committee of adjudication they disapproved of. The union responded to this provocation with a series of rotating protest strikes, forcing the government to retreat — until after October 14. Then, organized labor must give the postal workers its all out support.

In this issue

African stalemate...p3
No plan in Metroplan...p4
Cross country with NDP...p6

Schreyer's illusions get cut short

p. 2

cert with the rest of Canadian labor. Can one doubt the sincerity, the integrity of Schreyer? And is he not an educated man – a Rhodes scholar?

Be that as it may, and for all his calling himself a socialist, Schreyer has shown that he lacks the most elementary understanding that we live in a class-structured society where the political system, which he calls "ours", is in actual fact a system that has been developed and refined, not to work "for us" – the working class – but to serve the interests of the capitalist class. The political system is theirs – it is an integral part of a capitalist system. Any program of controls framed and enforced by the Liberals or Tories and their governments can only profit the class that the political system serves. It is simple-minded to separate out, as does Schreyer, "the concept" of Trudeau's program, the program itself – from the actual results of the program. A tree bears the fruit that is appropriate to its species.

For all the high-sounding words that were attached to the program, the organized labor movement, from the very start, rejected all concepts of trying to seek modifications of it or to live with it. It declared total and complete opposition and irreconcilable war against it. And now life itself has proven Schreyer to be completely wrong.

The Manitoba labor movement, now with this end of illusions, should enter into the fray with redoubled fury "to defeat wage controls and to mobilize," as **Labor's Manifesto** declares, "our strength behind the task of creating a more equitable and just society in the wake of that defeat."

Who are the socialists who publish the paper 'Forward'

By Harry Kopyto

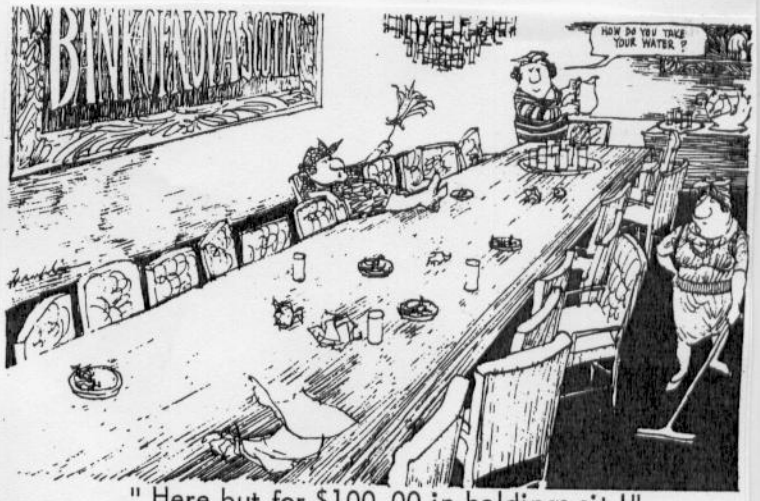
The paper you are reading is produced by members and supporters of the New Democratic Party who are fighting for a class struggle perspective in Canada today.

The articles you will read in this issue, as well as in others, are written by people actively engaged in the struggles about which we write. These struggles include the defeat of the wage freeze giving support to the Canadian Labor Congress protest actions; the fight of women to gain full control of their lives and equality at their workplaces; the struggle for a socialist Canada free from the shackles of U.S. corporate domination which both the Liberals and Tories support, the defense of oppressed national groups, such as non-whites in South Africa and the Palestinians in the Middle East struggling for self-determination; and the building of a powerful cross-Canada student movement which can protect students from cutbacks in education. We participate in, support and write about the resistance to government attacks in essential social services such as hospitals, and we defend bilingualism and the right of the Quebecois to determine their own future and defend their culture and language.

We have united in order to exchange experiences with the aim of gathering the forces needed to pose a consistent socialist alternative within the class struggle as a whole.

Though modest in size, our collective experience extends back through many decades of Canada's class struggle. We are united ideologically by the perspective of socialism as developed by Karl Marx and Frederich Engels which extends through the leaders of the Russian Revolution. We reject the Stalinist bureaucracies which dominate East Europe, the USSR and China, and we support the struggle for a political revolution to reassert real workers' democracy in these countries.

If you think you would like to find out more about our ideas, why not subscribe to **Forward**? You might also be interested in attending our regular weekly public discussions of events of interest to socialists, held every Friday at 53 Gerrard Street West, in Toronto. Or write us at that address.



"Here but for $100,00 in holdings sit I"

How the Globe and Mail sees qualifications for bank directorships

forward #22 Oct 1976

Gov't defies juries in Morgentaler case

By Harry Paine

Three times Dr. Morgentaler has been acquitted of performing illegal abortions. Three times the right of women to freedom of choice has been upheld. Three times the people of Canada have said the law is an ass.

The Quebec Superior Court has ordered Morgentaler to appear on November 2 to face eight further charges. In total disregard for the will of the citizens of this country, the prosecution appears determined to get its pound of flesh.

Even the **Globe and Mail** in an editorial on September 20 said, a conviction on any one of these charges would only signify "that the State, through brute force, had finally forced a jury to bend to its will".

John Diefenbaker said it would be a throwback to hundreds of years ago when British kings would lock up juries "without food and heat" in order to have them render a verdict to their liking.

Federal Justice Minister Ron Basford pleads that he does not want to interfere with the administration of justice in Quebec, although the substance of criminal law in Canada is totally a federal responsibility. It is common practice for the Federal Justice Department to order the dropping of charges before provincial courts.

Dr. Morgentaler has continually emphasized that it is not just he that is being put on trial but the women of Canada as well. In a discussion with this reporter the day after the news of his acquittal, Morgentaler reiterated this point and expressed his confidence that the decision of the jury would go a long way to winning removal of the abortion law from the Criminal Code once and for all.

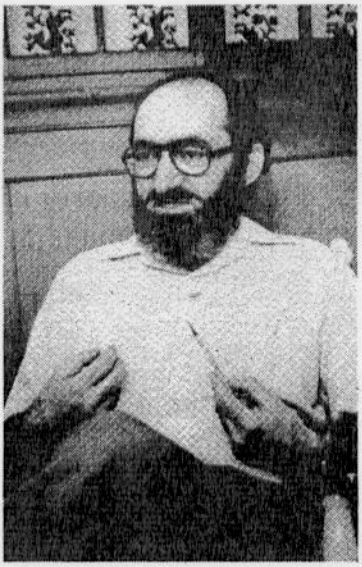
In Italy the government was recently brought down on this issue. Three to five thousand women die every year in that country at the hands of butcher abortionists.

Canadian women do not want to go back to that situation.

The Badgeley Commission on Abortion will be tabling its report to the justice minister shortly. Unless it totally distorts the facts it cannot say anything but that there are gross inequalities in the application and workability of the present abortion laws.

This report, together with the full acquittal of Henry Morgentaler can't help but open the door for women to put the pressure on for repeal of these laws.

A survey commissioned by the Professional Corporation of Physicians of Quebec indicated that 80% of doctors want more abortion committees in Quebec hospitals. Morgentaler provided a safe and effective means of terminating pregnancy, something that the government has refused to to guarantee. It is that government that should be standing in the dock facing charges, not Dr. Henry Morgentaler.



Dr. Henry Morgentaler

forward #22 Oct 1976

Abortion a 'private decision,' doctor's new book tells women

By Alice Klein

A change has taken place in the attitude of the medical profession towards abortion, decried Dr. Harley S. Smith while addressing an Alliance for Life banquet. Ten years ago, "abortion was not only a wrong act but an inappropriate topic for conversation." Thus lament those whose concerns for the "right to life" begins at conception and ends in the delivery room.

Unfortunately, Dr. Smyth is wrong. Those days are far from over. But the veil of silence has at least partially been lifted. New voices, seeking to demystify the layers of guilt and ignorance which have shrouded the question of abortion have made an impact. None more so than that of Dr. Morgentaler, whose unprecedented persecution has, much to his opponents chagrin, given a powerful impetus to the movement for the right to choose.

And now, with the publication of Dr. Wendell Watters' **Compulsory Pregnancy, The Truth About Abortion**, the movement has gained a new weapon in the struggle for an end to Canada's restrictive abortion laws.

"The main purpose of this book is to demonstrate that such laws are now a crime against humanity." This is the task Dr. Watters, Professor of Psychiatry at McMaster University sets for himself. And in the following pages of cool, unimpassioned argument, he succeeds in providing an overview on the question which is informative and convincing.

Dr. Watters is not making the case that abortion is desirable. Rather, he dispells the myth that to be in favor of the right to choose is to be "pro-abortion" – the favorite label assigned by the mass media. "Abortion is not an acceptable means of primary birth control, nor is it individually or socially desirable. We need to reduce the need for abortion... [but as] an analogy, the surgical removal of a cancerous lung is neither individually nor socially desirable, and we should encourage more people to give up cigarette smoking and provide more funds for cancer research. But we can no more stop performing abortions while we wait for the family planning millenium than we can stop performing lung surgery in the hope that this will scare people into giving up smoking."

The analogy is instructive though imperfect. Imperfect in that it ignores the delicate problem surrounding a question so intricately interwoven with human sexuality and social outlook. These issues, however, do not escape the notice of Dr. Watters. To deal with them, the book searches far and wide, from prehistory to the present, from East to West – attempting to uncover the causes of the particular complexities which surround the abortion issue today.

Casting back to the past, Watters demonstrates the lengths to which individuals haye gone in attempting to control their fertility. For example, he says, "the methods used to interrupt unwanted pregnancies in primitive societies press the limits of human ingenuity and constitute a grim indication of the deep-seated human wish to regulate reproductivity."

The uninterrupted search to control fertility on the part of individuals from the most ancient times to the present stands in harsh contrast to the legislative measures to restrict fertility control, which by the 19th Century were pervasive.

According to Watters, "we can justifiably call restrictive abortion laws compulsory pregnancy laws, and assume that they were introduced chiefly to stimulate birth rates and population growth."

The explanation for this tension lies in the fact that governments have, since the dawn of agriculture, sought to increase their population to augment the labor force and provide fodder for war and expansionism, while individuals, for the purposes of controlling their own lives, have sought to restrict the number of children for which they are responsible.

According to Watters, "we can justifiably call restrictive abortion laws compulsory pregnancy laws, and assume that they were introduced chiefly to stimulate birth rates and population growth."

These policies have historically been implemented on a number of levels. The most blatant – those which prohibit abortion and/or birth control are only the last stand of the far more subtle pro-natalist pressures engineered through religious and social promotion of the value and importance of parenting – values which reflect negatively on childlessness and, until very recently, on having few as opposed to many children. Watters calls this phenomenon pro-natalism.

The aim of Watter's enquiry into history is to demonstrate the roots of pro-natalism as the necessary ideological component of a population policy geared to the ruling interests of society – producing more babies to serve their political interests.

This is the core of the issue for Dr. Watters because one of his central concerns is the question of overpopulation. "As we enter the last quarter of the twentieth century, our survival dictates that we all attend to the issue of population ecology." Because of the prominence of this question, in the thinking of Dr. Watters, he fails to analyze the role of pro-natalism and of restrictive abortion laws in effecting the sexual stereotyping imposed on women, so necessary to the functioning of capitalist society.

It is precisely the pro-natalism that he describes which reinforces the notion of woman as child-rearer as the fundamental definition of woman's role. Thus the book fails to note the profound relationship between pro-natalism and women's oppression.

Dr. Watters is, however, not oblivious to the impact of pro-natalism on sexuality. Rather, he explains, "while modern contraceptives have lifted the burden of inevitable pregnancy from the shoulders of many sexually active couples, centuries of indoctrination have left a legacy of ignorance, fear, guilt, and inhibition that will not be dissipated overnight".

Nor is he unaware of the special anxieties surrounding the abortion issue. "The moral ambiguity regarding the pre-viable foetus – and people's emotional reaction to that ambiguity – have made it easy for pro-natalist establishments to lay down rules which suit social purposes."

Dr. Watter's concern about overpopulation as a key issue of the abortion debate, does not however, make him waver from a firm commitment to the concept of freedom of choice for individuals.

He staunchly argues against the imposition of any restrictions on reproduction, whether they be in the form of compulsory pregnancy laws, as we have in Canada or in the form of restrictions on the right to reproduce. "Advocates of repeal want abolition of all reference to abortion from the Canadian Criminal Code, not just because they reject compulsory pregnancy, but because they reject any interference by the state in this matter."

Further, in the final chapters of the book, Dr. Watters' summary of the medical and psychological literature regarding the effects of abortion on women, provides an extremely useful and informative picture – finally dismantling the ravings of those favoring restrictive abortion laws by showing calmly and clearly the lack of evidence for their position.

Compulsory Parenthood, The Truth About Abortion, places the debate around abortion on a new and higher level. It is a testimony to the growing strength and aggressiveness of the movement for freedom of choice in this country.

forward #22 Oct 1976

National Student Day gives focus to united anti-cutbacks movement

By Paul Kellogg

Across the country November 9, thousands of students in post-secondary institutions will participate in seminars, rallies, demonstrations and picnics that some say marks the rebirth of the Canadian student movement.

The occasion is "National Student Day" (NSD) approved unanimously by the National Union of Students (NUS) last spring, as a day for students to express their concern over the education cutbacks of the federal and provincial governments. Both NUS and the Ontario Federation of Students (OFS) are encouraging local student unions to focus on the deteriorating quality of post-secondary education because of the cutbacks, arguing for the governments to recognize education as a social right.

OFS, at its recent fall conference, characterized NSD as the "...most ambitious project Canadian students have ever undertaken."

There is no denying this. It represents a test not only of the strength of student unions across Canada and the extent to which student organizations such as NUS and OFS have established their legitimacy at the forefront of the student movement, but the very strength of that re-emerging student movement itself.

The new student movement, of which November 9 is a symbol, is not the same movement that made the 60s famous. This is evident in the position student organizations took on October 14th National Day of Protest. In Ontario at least, student unions in their majority, voted to support the Day of Protest, to identify with the struggle of labor against Trudeau's wage controls.

The awakening student movement in the mid-70's is taking place hand in hand with a realization that students must ally themselves with the working class both to defend their own interests, and to be a force for social change.

The labor movement and its political arm, the NDP, is the only sector of society that has taken up the fight against cutbacks and the deteriorating quality and availability of education – the central concerns of the new student movement. As the October 1st editorial in the U of T **Varsity** put it, "...students can't expect any help in fighting their own battles if they don't help the people most likely to be their allies".

Support for the October 14th Day of Protest makes sense since students are directly affected by the AIB. In the summertime, students enter the work force by the thousands, and by the thousands find themselves unemployed. Upon graduation, the search for employment becomes the ex-student's central activity, one that is becoming increasingly futile, with the high unemployment rate especially hitting hard at young people including university and college graduates. Once again, it is only the labor movement and the NDP that put the fight against unemployment at the centre of their economic program.

It is not only for "pragmatic" reasons that students identify with labor. The same **Varsity** editorial characterized the Day of Protest as "...the latest step in the ongoing fight between the capitalists who run the country in their own interests, and Canadian working people who are tired of picking up the tab for the failings of free enterprise: frozen wages, rising prices, social service cutbacks, pollution, and all the others." Wage controls and cutbacks are two sides of the same coin – the shrinking "silver" dollar symbolizing the governments' restraint and austerity programs.

On the campuses, it is the activists who are forming ad hoc support committees for Oct. 14 that will be at the centre of organizing for National Student Day on November 9th.

Through joint action between students and on-campus workers – maintenance and cleaning staff, professors, support staff, teaching assistants, etc. – the basis for an ongoing co-operation between these various sectors of the campus community in the form of a "common front" opposed to cutbacks and wage controls can be formed.

After Oct. 14 and Nov. 9, it will be necessary to nurture the growth of these common fronts on each campus. Equally important will be the need for student activists to break out of the isolation that has plagued the student movement for so long and give some ongoing organizational form to the links made through the co-ordinated efforts of the National Student Day and the Day of Protest.

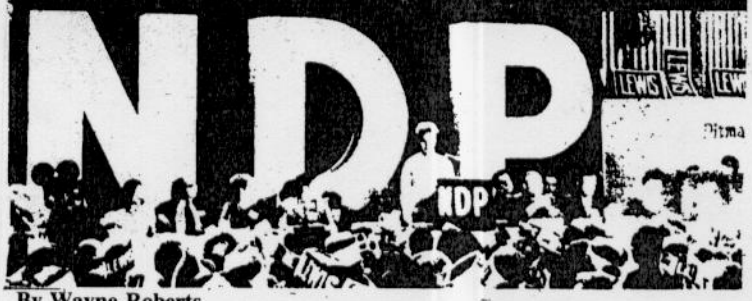
Student activists have come to realize this, at least on their own campuses. At Carleton, the Student Action Party; at Queens, the Socialist Coalition; at McMaster, the New Student Movement; at York, the United Left Coalition; and at Trent, a student union that has been for some years under the leadership of the student left – are the first expressions of this.

The logical next step of these developments is to co-ordinate campus struggles province-wide, bringing together local militants into one organization. A big first step would be a meeting of representatives from the new activist coalitions to form an ongoing left caucus within the OFS and NUS. More immediately, ad hoc common front committees that have sprung up to support Oct. 14 and build the National Student Day can co-ordinate their activities against cutbacks and wage controls after these days are over.

Whatever organizational form the new student movement takes, it will at least have this striking difference with the New Left radicalization of the 60s: whereas in the sixties, the student radicalization took place within the context of a relatively quiescent mood in the labor movement, students now are marching in step with this powerful ally.

forward #22 Oct 1976

Cross country with the NDP



By Wayne Roberts

Nationalization needed

A recent issue of **Viewsletter**, the NDP discussion bulletin sponsored by the federal party, carried Joe Levitt's review of Cy Gonick's **Inflation or Depression: The Continuing Crisis of the Canadian Economy** which draws some important conclusions. "In the sixties", Levitt writes, "the NDP could be fairly described as a welfare state party. It aimed to transfer a share of the ever increasing wealth of the community without necessarily bringing the great corporations under public control. The majority of the NDP rejected the idea that nationalization was a matter of principle; public ownership was to be used only in the last resort. Now the corporations cannot both keep up the profits they need to remain competitive and still continue increasing the standard of living of working people. A choice will have to be made between the two. To protect the interests of workers, farmers, the poor, and even lower middle class people, the power and profits of the big corporations will have to be curbed. Gonick doesn't say so, but it seems to me that these new circumstances will compel the NDP to advocate nationalization much more frequently, not to fulfill some vague socialist ideology, but as the only practical way of ensuring that the ability to make crucial economic decisions will be brought under public control."

Certainly it is increasingly obvious that the current sickness of world capitalism is here to stay. Far from a period of steady reforms and improvements in the standard of living, we can look forward to more of what we are just beginning to see – inflation combined with wage cuts, massive and widespread unemployment, slashing of vitally needed social services – as the capitalists thrash about just to stay afloat by attacking the working class. It is ever more clear that what is needed is socialism, not the utopian dream of regulating a bankrupt and dying system.

Even a pragmatist like Saskatchewan's premier Blakeney was forced to recognize this by the behavior of the giant US-owned potash firms. It was no doctrinaire or knee-jerk conclusion, as he made clear, but the lesson of long and painful experience, that nationalization was the only practical alternative to being held to ransom by corporations which even refused to pay their taxes.

It is the inner contradictions of capitalism itself which relentlessly drive it to self-destruction and pose a rationally planned socialist society not as a choice or preference but as a vital necessity, as the only way forward out of the mess.

This has always been the understanding of Marxism, which for years was dismissed as an outmoded ideology and dogma, irrelevant to the realities of the modern day. Now reality itself is driving home to the NDP the need for an outlook and program which will settle accounts with capitalism for all time.

Cy Gonick

Alberta

Both the Alberta Federation of Labor and the Alberta NDP made presentations to the Bryce Commission on Corporate Concentration last month.

The Alberta Fed made a strong case for the nationalization of the CPR, as the railroad giant prepares to dump service to smaller centres in the west after a century of feeding at the public trough. The Fed opposed any kind of subsidy to the corporate giant, noting that "that kind of corporate shell game, where the company always wins and the public always pays, is far too frequent an occurrence in this country".

"Nationalization seems to be one of the only effective mechanisms to control corporate power", they concluded.

By comparison the NDP brief was evasive, claiming that public ownership was only "one of numerous options" open to the public. In the tradition of the 1956 CCF manifesto which dumped the party's commitment to socialism as outdated, the NDP brief outlined the possibilities of joint ventures of government and private capitalists and Crown Corporations to compete with private companies.

The rub, however, as the AFL brief points out, is that nationalization is the only way to secure effective control. Have there not been enough experiences with Bricklins and Churchill Forest Industries to show that joint ventures only leave the taxpayers with the bills and capitalists with the loot? What is to decide the guidelines for the company – profit or public use? How can workers' control of the business be incorporated with private ownership and control? As for Crown corporation competition, what are they to do – set up another set of railway ties, to run along those of the CPR that are already subsidized by the public? Is not the trend of Crown Corporation competition as in the case of Air Canada, that the government takes the lead in pricing from the private corporations that control the government in power?

Cartoonist J. Bengough portrays John A. Macdonald caught red-handed in 1870's bribery with the CPR, then known as the Conservative government on wheels. After milking the public treasury dry, they are now dropping any service which does not yield immediate superprofits.

The concentrated nature of economic power in Canada cries out for one solution – public ownership. That is the only way to secure efficient operation, orientation to use rather than profit and public control.

→p.2

Teachers draft election program

The Metro NDP Teachers' Committee, which got off the ground last year to educate and stop the vacillation of the party caucus in the struggles around Bill 100 and the teachers' strike, has produced a draft platform for trustees for NDP candidates in the December 1976 elections.

Their far-reaching proposals to develop a truly public educational system began with a plan for financing education. "Between 1970-74 in Canada interest and investment income increased by 11% and corporate profits by 137%", they point out. However, "the Ontario Tory government has fully supported the reduction of the corporate share of the provincial income tax revenue, and the increasing of the burden on the individual. Government tables show that between 1963-75 the corporate share fell by 47% and the individual share increased by almost 63%". They charge that "present trustees have failed to expose these government policies to the public and have worked within the framework of these regressive policies".

Moreover, "the present funding of education also serves the purpose of making adversaries of those who should be natural allies. The small municipal householder, the renter and people on fixed incomes are pitted against students, teachers and other Board of Education employees as the former seek to fight against unjust taxation while the latter seek to meet their needs while performing their tasks within the educational system".

The section concludes with a call to finance education by progressively removing education from municipal taxes, relying on a provincial income tax, increasing revenues from the corporate sector and dispensing monies on the basis of community needs rather than arbitrary formulas for ceilings.

The draft also calls for major reforms in learning conditions, decision making, and curriculum and collective bargaining. Hopefully, this draft program can be widely circulated and influential in the party. It lays the basis for both major improvements in the operation of schools and a more profound understanding of the tasks of the NDP. As the preamble to the draft concludes: "We recognize the interrelationship of the provincial and local levels of government and recognize the need of electing a provincial government committed to a similar education program. It is through the election of NDP trustees, committed to a specific platform, and an Ontario NDP government with an equal commitment, that the people of Toronto and all Ontario will have the best opportunity to work towards the kind of public education system which will meet their needs".

Eduardo Disanto, NDP MPP from Downsview, expressed NDP "solidarity and sympathy with the people of Chile" in a September 21 demonstration at the US embassy in Toronto. The demonstration was protesting the third assassination of former government officials under Allende.

Move in on insurance

Saskatchewan's NDP government has initiated moves toward a system of public comprehensive insurance to cover all residents on a no-fault basis in all aspects of their lives from car insurance to workmen's compensation. Such a move will not only provide needed protection for all residents; public ownership will tremendously lower the operating costs compared to big business firms by eliminating wasteful advertising and the costs of long drawn-out court battles. As well, it will give the province control over substantial amounts of money now left in the hands of a small number of capitalists and allow the government the beginnings of the kind of economic power needed to plan economic growth.

To date, this is just a proposal from a government committee and the minister responsible for insurance. Public hearings on the proposal will begin in November with a view to developing a government bill on the matter in the spring.

Member control needed

The Ontario NDP parliamentary caucus leaders, expecting an electoral victory in the upcoming provincial election, are already getting the buckets ready to water down their obligations to the party program once they are in office. Mike Cassidy, the NDP critic in housing who now writes a regular column for the Saskatchewan NDP organ, **Commonwealth**, is going all out. He begins and ends his most recent article with the assumption that "it is time to think not just about policy but about what an NDP government would do...".

Once released from the obligation to the party program because of the "leeway" which properly belongs to the caucus, he hedges on the most elementary of convention decisions.

Although the NDP favors a shelter allowance to keep rental and housing expenses below 25% of a person's income, Cassidy frets: "but it also may represent more redistribution of income than the party is prepared to handle immediately we came to power in Ontario". Instead Cassidy favors limiting population growth in Toronto to keep housing demand down – as if a party unable to redistribute income would be able to control such an irreversible urban trend of capitalism. He also favors a leasehold land-policy that would prevent speculation in land.

Once again the question of democratic party control over elected representatives is revealed as an issue which challenges the leadership's unqualified right to abandon party program and make concessions to the "realities" of capitalist power. In the face of the forthcoming possibilities of an NDP government, the party through the democratic decisions of party members is obliged not only to elaborate a program on housing which would lower costs and increase supply – where abolition of land speculation would be tied into a program of massive public housing construction under the control of tenants – but also to assert the constitutionally determined power of party conventions over the adaptations of the leadership.

→p.3

p.3

New Democrat off base

The Ontario **New Democrat** normally arrives a bit irregularly and late. This time the Ontario NDP leadership must be blushing at least a bit over the editors' front page coverage of the June NDP convention which arrived at most NDP members' mailboxes in mid-September.

For some reason, the editors went out of their way to play up "No Unqualified Support for General Strike Protest" giving special emphasis to MPP Evelyn Gigantes' opposition to the general strike on the grounds that "this party has to speak for the people not in organized labor" who are "being held down at a level lower than organized labor."

The editors obviously wanted to dissociate themselves from the Oct. 14 Day of Protest and misrepresent the sentiments of convention delegates in that regard. The main thrust of the convention discussion was to repudiate federal wage controls and to call on the Ontario NDP to join with the federal party and labor movement in opposing them. Delegates who did not support the referral calling for support of the then undefined general strike did so for a variety of reasons. Not only were CLC plans unspecified at the time, delegates are usually reluctant to refer a motion since it means that the NDP is without a policy until the Provincial Council studies the referral, usually after a considerable time lag.

Of course, the NDP leadership quickly made a turnabout, as expressed through statements of Lewis and the provincial executive which now offer unqualified support for October 14.

How did the **New Democrat** get itself in the position of misrepresenting the position of the party? This gaffe above all reveals the electoral opportunism of the party leadership, their fear of losing or risking the whimsical and fluctuating "undecided vote" held out by the mirage of "middle class voters" the NDP leadership likes to base its appeal on. Thus the leadership vacillates on divisive and polarizing public questions, frequently allowing the right wing to carry the ball in the vacuum created by their timidity. Because of the party's labor base, the leadership is often able to correct itself, but only after movements have had to bear the brunt of media hostility in isolation and push the leadership into action.

Preparation for the day of protest is drawing the line against right wing, conservative elements as the labor movement tries to reconstitute itself as a fighting force. The NDP cannot help but be part of this process.

It is to be hoped that the enormity of the error in the **New Democrat** will begin to direct the NDP away from pampering the illusions of undecided voters and toward a program based on the real needs and movements of the working class in struggle.

Ont NDP women meet to discuss party platform

By Ellie Kirzner

Fifty NDP women met in September in Toronto in a conference called by the Ontario Women's Committee. Many women, new to the women's caucus responded to the Committee's invitation to critically examine NDP policy on women. Workshops on health, education, labor, social services and election strategy generated a wide-area of discussion. Resolutions formulated reflected not only concern with feminist issues but a tendency to use a feminist perspective as a vantage point on broad social questions – everything from ending nuclear pollution to public control of the medical profession, before and after school child care, and public ownership of the drug industry.

As well, conference members signed a telegram to Justice Minister Basford demanding the dropping of the charges against Dr. Morgentaler.

The formal session dealt with the life and growth of the woman's caucus itself. Recognizing previous difficulties with structure, communications and party hierarchy support, the meeting voted on a number of measures designed to consolidate the caucus and speed its development as a force within the party. It was agreed that a newsletter be established, a booklet issued on women's concerns, and a committee constituted to re-design the structure of the Ontario Women's Committee and to submit an organizational proposal to the Provincial Executive.

The caucus will meet again in January in enough time to ensure well-coordinated participation in the federal convention.

forward #22 Oct 1976

Que pilots' victory

While Trudeau launches his fellow cabinet ministers into a public speaking cross-country campaign to educate the people on the justice of bilingualism, Les Gens de L'Air dealt several sharp blows against his government which terminated the air traffic controllers strike a few months back by ditching the use of the French language in Quebec itself.

The government capitulated to the demand of the air controllers and chauvinist forces across the country that only English be used in air communications to assure safety. It forbade the use of French even in Quebec except in 6 airports where it is permitted for visual flights only. The government-owned Air Canada quickly issued orders which in effect eliminated the use of French on its planes for their navigation and operation. And it agreed to establish a three member inquiry commission to investigate the safety and along with it the cost and efficiency of bilingual air traffic control in Quebec.

On September 7 a petition sponsored by the Association des Gens de l'Air, composed of the Quebec air traffic controllers, won a Superior Court order requiring Air Canada to allow the use of French in aircraft cockpits. Air Canada's subsequent attempt to block this has been rejected by the Quebec Court of Appeal and it has been forced to agree, within two years, to translate its training and instruction manuals into French.

And now Les Gens de l'Air has laid down 16 conditions before Transport Minister Otto Lang for its participation in the government's three member inquiry. Without the participation of bilingual air controllers, the simulator tests by which the enquiry is presumably going to make its finding cannot even get underway.

Metro NDP disunity confuses voters

By Randy Notte

Toronto's present city council is known for anything but its political clarity and concern for working people. Recent increases in transit fares, failure to provide needed housing, and social service cutbacks leave the Liberal and Tory dominated council with a more than sorry record.

Unfortunately, very weak alternatives will be given to the average voter when municipal elections begin this December. The NDP, because of its failure in the 1969 elections, is hesitant about again fielding a full municipal slate. Instead of seeing the 1969 slate as a good first effort, which suffered as much from lack of a focus with a mayoralty candidate as it did from voter hesitancy about party politics, the leadership presents it as a conclusive case against party politics municipally. This attitude, however, leaves the way clear for Mayor Crombie and his pack of Tory careerists to once again sweep the key positions of City Hall.

NDP activists have been left with no clear direction. In some cases NDPers are working against one another with disastrous results. Ward 9 aldermanic candidate Neil Young, a prominent party member, is rejected by the community and left-leaning Ward 9 Community Team. The Community Team, fielding its own aldermanic candidates in opposition to Young, is being built by many NDPers from Beaches-Woodbine, the riding of which Young is president. Thus the riding association has been left in confusion. The same kind of problem exists in Ward Five trustee elections.

In Ward 4, Joe Pantalone and Lee Zazlovsky are challenging Liberal incumbents Ben and Eggleton. While Pantalone has the official endorsation of the NDP, Zazlovsky, also an NDPer, is running as a candidate of the non-class Movement for Municipal Reform. Zazlovsky also has the backing of prominent party members

"There were more votes than voters in one poll in the City of Toronto election in 1974". That's how the **Star** portrayed another Conservative alderman's election. The alderman, Ying Hope, will be opposed in Ward 4 by two more non-official NDP candidates, Susan Fish and Fiona Nelson. Because of their non-official status, they will win NDP votes without having obligations to the NDP. Fish for instance, is closely identified with and supported by Crombie, despite her NDP membership.

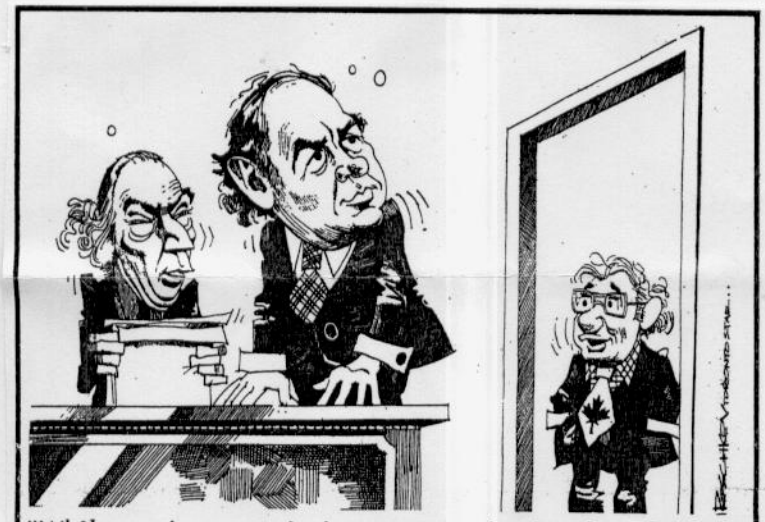
What all ridings need is a strong, official and well coordinated NDP municipal slate. Past failures in this area cannot justify present abstentionism. Politicians like Crombie, Hope and Eggleton offer little more than cutbacks.

An NDP government at City Hall could clearly put an end to this and any other capitalist outrages in municipal politics.

forward #22 Oct 1976

Oh Canada

By Paul Kane



"While you're repatriating our constitution from Britain, maybe you can repatriate our energy policy from OPEC and our economy from the U.S."

The new Progressive Conservative leader Joe Clarke has made another open and shameless bid for US imperialist support of his campaign to become Canada's next prime minister. He made it before the Canada-United Kingdom Chamber of Commerce in London on the way home from his European tour.

What are in reality only empty posturings by the Trudeau government to blur the hard facts of its longstanding subservient and satellitic relation to US corporate power, Clarke condemned as tweaking the American eagle's tail feathers. He cited Trudeau's trip to Cuba and his government's removal of **Time** magazine's tax bonanza as "unnecessary quarrels" that may be a disadvantage when it comes "to negotiate real issues." It is clear that if he makes it, there won't even be tweaking of tail feathers.

With cynical bluntness Clarke named what he considers "real issues." They aren't Great Lakes pollution, Canada's imperilment by the construction of the nuclear-armed Trident submarine base just 100 miles south of Vancouver, or US cultural domination of Canada, but, as you have possibly guessed, "resources matters."

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The eminent newspaperman and confidant of Liberal Party bigwigs, Bruce Hutchinson, has just finished his memoirs. In a section just published in the **Globe and Mail** he relates an occasion where US president John Kennedy himself was so bold as to contact Liberal leader Lester Pearson over the telephone to tell him that he would do whatever he was asked to assure Pearson's re-election.

The Tories never protested this arrogant violation of Canadian sovereignty. Now Joe Clarke just wants to be sure that the incoming US president has the correct phone number.

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According to the latest 54 page report of the Canadian-American Committee, composed largely of Canadian and US bankers, brokers and corporate executives – the worm has finally turned. Instead of continuing to adapt and capitulate to the pressures and orders of the US State Department and US corporate power, the Canadian capitalist class and its political stooges are now standing up and fighting. Apparently the working people are really putting on the heat.

The committee has this to say in its report: "It is virtually impossible politically for the Canadian government to *appear* (our emphasis) to be giving up something to the US, even if in return for a broader agreement bringing greater benefit."

• • • • •

As for Secretary of State Hugh Faulkner, to whom the Council of Canadian Filmmakers gave The Zero The Fool Award, he has been called by an anonymous editor of the august **New York Times Book Review**, the Sam Adams of the revolution that is said to be taking place in Canada. The scrapping of **Time's** special tax privileges that caused it to fold up its Canadian edition came about, according to this writer, "in response to pressure from the colonials" – that's us Canadians.

The US colonials, 200 years ago, after trying to wrest concessions from their foreign exploiters, ultimately, in order to establish their independence, had to take the road of revolution. They did so under the leadership of a real Sam Adams. Can it be that this is what the anonymous **New York Times** editor is trying to tell us Canadians – that to be independent Canada has to go socialist.

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Millions of Canadians watching **Hockey Night in Canada** are compelled to see and hear the US oil industry's propaganda through its monopolization of the advertising time tied into the TV programming of what is called Canada's national sport. To rub it in, the Canadian public even pays for it because corporate advertising is tax deductible.

The September issue of **Ontario Report** contains an interesting article on the efforts of the Public Petroleum Association to counter this brainwashing. It also contains a valuable article by Jim Laxer on Imperial Oil. Perhaps even more important is the extended review by Mel Watkins of **The History of Canadian Business, 1867-1914**, by Tom Naylor.

Watkins hails Naylor's two-volume work for "applying a general Marxist analysis to Canada in such a way as to explain why Canada has evolved in a different way than Europe or the United States." He sees Naylor's analysis as offering "a fertile framework for other Marxist scholars in history, economics, political science and sociology – and Canada's dependent status as the cornerstone of our being is now firmly on the agenda of research." With this work Naylor "has made the greatest contribution yet to a Marxist understanding of Canada."

Ontario Report is $4 for a six-issue subscription from Box 6851, Station A, Toronto. Both **Ontario Report** and the two-volume Naylor work can be obtained at Forward Books, 53 Gerrard St. West, Toronto – the latter for $13.90 plus 10% for postage.

(Found in 1976)

Join 'Forward' and celebrate the 59th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution

Music Refreshments

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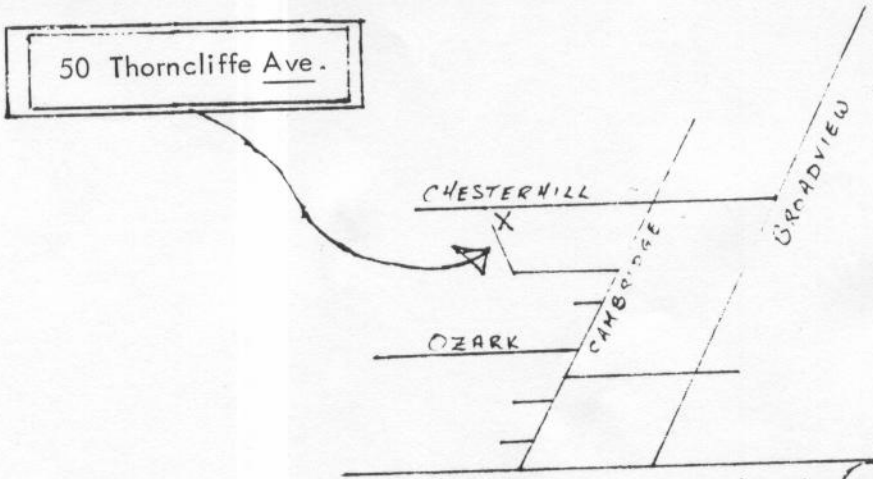

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Reminder: Forward Forum friday
Class II on the
Russian Revolution
with Harry Kopyto
53 Gerrard St. W. (at Bay)

WOMAN'S MOVEMENT CLASS SERIES (Found in 1967)

Class I: An Historical Survey of the Woman's Movement (from its origins to its present form)

FRIDAY NOVEMBER 12 8:00pm

A comparison of the feminist radicalization during the turn of the century with the present wave. Are they the same movement? Has the direction of the radicalization changed?

Speaker: Ellie Kirzner; MacMaster University graduate student presently working on research concerning the history of the woman's movement in Canada.

Class II: An Assessment of the Current Wave of Radicalization of Women

FRIDAY NOVEMBER 19 8:00pm

An open discussion on the prospects before the present wave of the women's movement.

Speaker: Chris Judge; a leading activist in the woman's movement.

Forward Forum

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53 Gerrard St. W.
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595-1284

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Socialist League,
53 Gerrard St. W.,
Toronto, Ont.
November 14, 1976

Dear Comrades and Friends,

Considering the present very high level of activity of the members of the movement in various campaigns in the municipal campaigns,&the labour movement we find it not possible to proceed with the Branch conference on November 21.

The Branch conference will proceed on December 12 at 1:00 p m. This will allow us to properly prepare the conference agenda and give everyone the opportunity to participate without conflicting priorities.

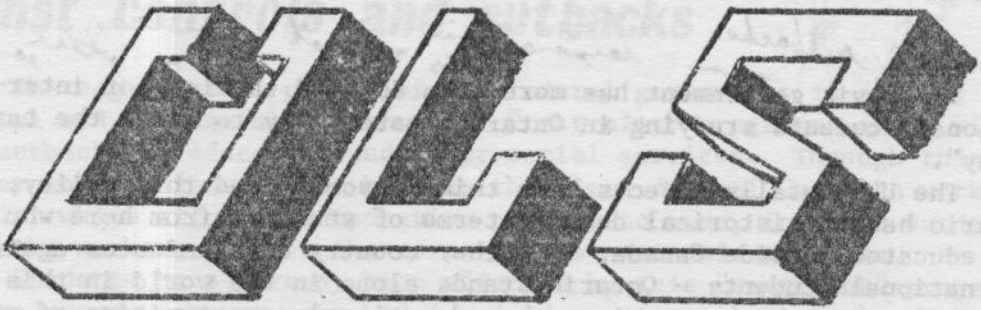
Another change in the movement's schedule is that the women's class series will begin with Ellie on the History of the Women's Movement this friday November 19 to be followed by the class on the evaluation and perpsective of the current feminist radicalization on the following friday November 26.

Fraternally,

Abie Weisfeld

Abie Weisfeld for the SL

CYSF BY-ELECTIONS TUES. NOV. 23



in founders **Peter Waite**

in graduate studies **Alice Klein**

in mclaughlin **AnthonyAstaphan**

The United Left Slate (ULS) is a broad coalition of NDPers, socialist groups and individuals. What follows is an outline of our programme.

against the coming fee increase

In 1974, then Conservative education minister James Auld, forewarned Ontario students that tuition fee increases were in the air. Last year's Mckeough-Henderson advisory report to the Ontario government recommended a 65% increase in tuition over the next three years, bringing it to over $1,000!

Recent rumours (from the "Toronto Sun" among others) suggest that the tuition increase, which will be announced this fall, will be between $100 and $175.

The ULS is committed to actively work against this and <u>any</u> tuition fee increase. Already, university education is closed to most people from working and lower class backgrounds, a primary reason being the huge debt that they must incur to get a degree.

University education must be open to all sectors of society, not just the fortunate few.

to roll back international student fee increase

cutbacks
same corporations + not workers.
money
+ other concrete

The Davis government has more than doubled tuition for international students studying in Ontario, ostensibly to "save the taxpayers" money".

not an answer directly

The ULS totally rejects both this reasoning and this policy. Ontario has an historical debt in terms of students from here who are educated outside Canada. No other country discriminates against non-national students - Ontario stands alone in the world in this blatant discrimination which restricts the educational opportunities of students from less privileged areas.

The Edson team "initiatives" inthis matter amounted to supporting the increase, and then opposing it only in words. Obviously this will not do.

We of the ULS want to fight to rollback this increase. We see this move as a first step in fighting against tuition hikes generally.

~~present~~ as prelude to tuition increases for white students

to support the anti-cutbacks campaigns of O.F.S. and N.U.S.

The student unions and organizations that exist in Canada are acquiring increasing importance as the cutbacks/restraint program of the federal and provincial governments eats into the quality of education at York.

Particularly important are the Ontario Federation of Students (OFS) and National Union of Students (NUS) . They are engaged in ongoing work to fight the cutbacks, and their province-wide and nation-wide efforts are a necessary addition to the work done on individual campuses.

Many of the campaigns initiated by these organizations have been fouled up by the present council. Newspapers go undistributed, brochures and forms are lost and activities like the recent National Student Day on Nov. 9, get inadequate on-campus leadership and organization.

The ULS believes that these campaigns must be actively supported and built and that our student union should participate actively in OFS and NUS to ensure they carry the anti-cutbacks fight as effectively as possible.

to support the labour movement's fight against controls and cutbacks

for a student movement

The wage control policy of the federal government is part of the federal and provincial governments' "restraint" programme along with the cutbacks in education and other social services. Through this policy the governments are keeping the wages down of Canadian working people, while allowing corporation profits to soar, in other words to make the workers pay for the corporations' economic troubles.

Students have already been affected by this "restraint" programme in the summer jobs we searched for (and sometimes even got). In the future, the wages we receive will be reduced by the "wage and price" (read "wage and wage") control programme.

On October 14, the labour movement moved into action against the wage controls at the same time opposing cutbacks in social services and post-secondary education. The labour movement has become the central force agianst all the governments' attacks. By developing active support for the labour movement's fight against the wage controls we will be winning an indispensable ally in fighting all cutbacks and increasing the power of all those opposed to the "restraint" programme.

for the right to freely disseminate information

Perhaps this is the first you've heard of the November 23 by-election. Perhaps you are encountering difficulty in finding out about other activities on campus.

John Becker's (assistant vice-president, student affairs) "bare wall" policy, bans posters from the Central Square/Ross building area, banning the cheapest and most effective (some would say the only) way of publicizing events on campus. This policy was adopted without prior consultation between Becker and the clubs and groups affected. It was adopted in contempt of the rightful democratic input of the student body.

The ULS rejects this measure taken in contempt of student democracy.

The ULS believes tha York's grey concrete walls, bare of posters, are inhuman, not to speak of ugly.

Groups and individuals wishing to join us in opposing this policy should contact one of our candidates, or leave us a note, c/o CYSF Office, Central Square.

for women's rights at york

The ULS believes that women have a place in society - and its not just in the home and not in the unemployment lines.

The place of women is as full and equal citizens.

In university education that means we need government-subsidized daycare, so women with children are not tied to the home. We need preferential hiring for women faculty to lessen the imbalance between men and women on the teaching staff. The job discrimination and rock-bottom wages that women encounter in the summer must at least be countered by an adequate student aid plan, a plan of grants not loans.

That is only a beginning.

Nationalism?

VOTE FOR A DEMOCRATIC STUDENT UNION

In an era of cutbacks, tuition increases, and high unemployment, students need an organization that can fight for their interests, whether it be cheaper accomodation and food, smaller classes, more student aid, or a better education.

To be effective, this organization has to represent all students on the campus whatever their college or faculty, whether resident or commuter. This organization must be democratic with its members elected in campus-wide elections that are properly publicized and conducted.

Students have very little decision-making power on this campus. The Board of Governors and the Senate have only token student representation. If students are to gain any influence in determining quality of education and life at York, they will need a strong student union, to challenge these undemocratic institutions and fight for a university which is controlled not by business interests but by the people who study and work at York.

issue of cancellation of by-elections.

VOTE ULS

To hear more about the ULS and compare our view with the other candidates, Come to the ALL-CANDIDATES DEBATE, MONDAY, NOVEMBER 22, NOON, CENTRAL SQUARE BEAR-PIT.

(Found in 1976)

Draft (I) Tasks and Perspectives Report
to the Nov. Branch Conference of the SL

Outline

I Three Years of the Socialist League

(i) Membership analysis
-started with 18

pol. discussion

I The Objective Political Situation

(E) 60's radicalization

-wave of young inexperienced youth and students into LSA/LSO and YS/LJS swamped the cadres of the old leadership and resulted ~~xx~~ in their adaptation to the ultraleft sentiments of that melieu
-although it kept on course through the efforts and influence of Ross Dowson it memely represented the adaptation of that leadership to Ross and not their assimilation of the methodology that he represented, Trotskyism.
-rather the methodology developed by that leadership was that of adaptationism to both the left and right depending on the conjuncture and the issue.
-i.e. when Ross left for Europe over a two year period the Riddell/Young/Fidler leadership switched its allegience to the SWP organizationally and subsequently adapted to the RCT and Red Circle formations dumping the traditional Trotskyist orientations developed on the NDP and the developing orientation on the national question.
-presently the LSA/LSO leadership has adapted to the right in its tailist adulation of the NDP and its leadership

-an evaluation of the forces generated in the previous radicalization indicated that the melieu to which we must remain oriented is not the previous layer of radicals presently in various organizations or not but the elements arising out of the current radicalization in the labour movement and the NDP

(ii) political conjuncture

-Trotskyist forces are generally comparable to those of the Maoist-Stalinist or the Moscow-Stalinist forces although the Trotskyist forces are more

divided

(a) prospects for regroupment

-in the past period there has been a lack of political discussion on the major issues of the ~~Canadian~~ developing Canadian revolutionary process

-presently the need for political debate is becomming apparrent to some as the ~~pressures~~ for regroupment /fusion build up

- the basis for a regroupment presently does not exist with either the LSA/LSO or the RMG/GMR on a princled political basis

-that is not to say that the political differences dividing us are on the level of principled differences but that nevertheless they remain on the level of strategic differences of Canadian politics

-no progress has been made to resolve those differences and in fact the differences have widned to such questions as thenature of the trade union bureaucracy, the CLC manifesto, immigration policy, student work, Portugal ~~(RMG)~~ (not RMG) indicating continuing methodological differences

-the RMG/GMR reamins fundamentally ultraleft in its orientation to the NDP and the national question although some REM members have begun to undertake work in the NDP effectively and their position on Canada-US relations presents an ambigious position as to its characterization of Canada

-the LSA/LSO displays a met hod of secterian adaptationism which ranges from the ultraleft to the opportunist on the NDP

-there is no reason to consider that our method of analysis of Canadain politics is any nearer to one or the other of these two other organizations

-while we do not consider it feasible to initiate a discussion on organizational matters we would not decline a request to participate in anticipation of the political discussion to which we could contribute with the perspective of winning a hearing in the other organizations for our politics with a view to regroupment not necessarily with the organized formations now existing but rather with currents in or around the other orgs.

(ii) the current radicalization

-the class radicalization currently underway will be reflected mainly in the NDP and the formation of an independent labour party in Quebec

-our strategic orientation of unconditional and critical support to the NDP as distinct from its present leadership remains the focus of our politics and increasingly the center of our political activity as well.

To LSA

Dear Comrades,

We appreciate the concern expressed in your letter of Nov. 23/76 calling for a press of unification and the step you have taken by the presentation of your documents of November 1975.

The achievement of a unified Trotskyist movement in Canada is a goal we must keep in mind continually.

We consider that the question of unity is not to be solved over and above real political obstables. Not that unity is undesirable under such circumstances but that unity is not feasible when confronted with differences over the strategic requirements of the Canddian revolutionary process. The two major differences that divided us in 1974; the question of a strategic orientation to the labour party, the NDP, of unconditional and critical support and the question of the strategic importance of the struggle for an Independent Socialist Canada, still divide us. A reading of the documents "New Challenges and Opportunities for Socialists: The Changin Face of Canadian Politics, Political Committee Draft Resolution, November 16, 1975" and "The National Question in Quebec, Political Committee Draft Resolution, October 9, 1975" which you provided and which presumably the LSA/LSO puts forward as its position seeks to implement in its press and ongoing work, indicates to us that

the LSA/LSO still adopts a sectarian orientation to the New Democratic Party. At the same time we recognize that the practice of the LSA/LSO displays a much more serious orientation to the NDP both in terms of the Labor Challenge coverage of the NDP and the activities of the membership. If this signifies a change in orientation to the NDP then it should be stated.

The desire for unity is of course a reflection of the recognition that the Trotskyist forces are isolated organizationally from the working class. We do not feel that the unification of our two isolated movements will solve, or even necessarily begin to solve, this fundamental question. Politics is fundamental to the problem of overcoming isolation and we cannot give up our political perspective which we feel is essential to overcoming that isolation, for the sake of what presently appears to be an artificial unity. This is the question that must be addressed. If you consider that our differences in the past have been overcome in the course of practice during these last three years, then that is the basis on which a proposal for collaboration could be made. However we do not consider that such point in experience has been achieved.

Our evaluation of the two documents presented to us has not changed from the analysis presented in our previous documentation; "The Subversion of the Revolutionary Socialist Orientation to the N.D.P.", "Against Sectarianism: The Challenge of the Labor Party", "On the Labor Party: Marx & Engels",&"The New Stage in Canada-USS. Relations" all of which having been generally available. Since we have not changed our evaluation of the documentation of the LSA/LSO it becomes a question of whether the LSA/LSO has changed its evaluation of the documentation of the Socialist League. We do not see that either has taken place and so consider that the question of unification is not a viable prospect.

Why this document? It's not ours

We remain optimistic for the opportunities before Trotskyism in Canada and fully expect the Trtoskyist movement to meet those opportunities. With the political perspective extablished for Trotskyism in gneeral we expect that a natural process of regroupment and unification will take place. We question whether that time has come at the present time.

Comradely,

it is not clear that this is on the basis of their document the discrepancy between their theory & practice vis a vis the NDP should be much more strongly emphasized

Abie Weisfeld, Organizer Socialist League

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

forward

(23) Vol. 2, No. 11 Nov. - Dec. 1976 Toronto 20 Cents

Jubilant Quebecois celebrate victory on eve of PQ election

PQ victory opens up a new era

The cheers of Quebec media technicians and the jubilation of massive evening victory parties expressed the excitement of all the dynamic forces and hopes brought alive in Quebec by the PQ victory and prospects of release from centuries of national domination. The working people of all Canada have every reason to join in the celebration of one of the most momentous blows ever delivered to the structures of capitalist exploitation in Canada and the federal Liberal party which has served as the bastion of its political rule.

What is it in this election that has the big-business politicians and analysts reeling? What caused a grim Trudeau to warn that it is just another government that has been elected and that he will not negotiate the terms of secession with that Quebec government, despite the fact that neither the people of Quebec nor the people of any part of Canada has had a say in Confederation? What is it that caused the hysteria mongering by big business and their hack politicians on the eve of the election; only to have their noses rubbed in a decisive PQ victory and their mouths twisted to issuing pleas for national reconciliation?

Brushing up speeches on national unity and sovereignty must have been a bit awkward even to these polished hypocrites. Successive leaders of Liberal and Conservative governments who have handed over Canadian sovereignty in various military alliances with the US, and before them with Britain, are suddenly concerned about the international integrity of Canada. Brewery and sport king Bronfman threatened to pull out of Quebec and take his baseball team directly into a US city at the same time as he expresses his love for a united Canada. Where is Trudeau's intransigence against Alberta Premier Lougheed and his attempt to carry on as if he were the governor of a US state as he appeals to US authorities to intervene in Canadian internal affairs?

The discredited and hated Bourassa regime pulled out all the stops in an hysterical anti-separatist campaign, threatening the Quebec people for the third time in a row with the wolves at the door if the PQ won. Their slogan "Notre Garantie" (Our Guarantee) expressed the last hopes of the Anglo-American capitalists for a government totally under their control. It is the defeat of this guarantee that is causing the turmoil among Canada's rulers.

That is what is causing them to worry out loud about Levesque as a "Lenin without a beard" and the implications that the PQ victory poses to Canada — socialism. That is what led the disturbed editors of the **Financial Post** and every other major daily to fret about the drift to socialism they see as inevitable in the situation.

Will lead to a labor party

In Quebec, the aspirations of the working people of Quebec from their first truly popular government will inevitably lead them to challenge the English-language policies of the Anglo-US bosses and their refusal to pay increased taxes and invest in manufacturing instead of just plundering resources. There will be demands to shift away from Olympic circuses towards working class needs and clean out the Augean stables of corruption that have provided the back allies for the venal capitalist control of Quebec. The PQ government will be sharply confronted by these questions. In the course of the collision between the working class's aspirations and the contradictory perspectives of the PQ with its petty bourgeois leadership, the labor party that truly meets the needs of the Quebec masses will be forged.

Just as the wolf stories and fear campaign of the Liberals have been cast aside in Quebec and replaced by a new openness, English Canada will also re-examine the basis of myths, like the need for Confederation-style unity to fight off absorption into the U.S. In reality, the so-called unity of Confederation has been the engine for that absorption, manipulated and used as useful tools by US giants.

What is needed is the unity of working people which cannot be achieved without recognizing the right of our Quebec brothers and sisters to choose, the form of government which best serves their sense of nationality and struggle against national oppression.

Apart from that, the election of a PQ government poses a major threat to the cross Canada stability of the Liberal Party, posing a major breakthrough of the NDP elsewhere and independent working class political action in Quebec itself. Already, prominent NDPers like Blakeney have identified with the new government's thrust toward social reform and even called for a PQ-NDP alliance.

The PQ election has turned a page in the history of Canada and has uplifted the hopes of oppressed nationalities around the world. It quickens the possibilities for a changed relationship of forces in federal politics. English Canadian working people have everything to gain from an examination not just of the processes whereby Quebec has been exploited, but also, the avenues Quebecois are exploring in the course of their struggle for liberation.

Ont. Union delegates call for socialism in Canada

By P. Kent

Nov. 22 — The manifesto before the delegates representing the 800,000 member affiliates to the Ontario Federation of Labor, coming on the heels of the successful October 14 24-hour cross-Canada general strike and the staggering defeat of the capitalist Liberal Party in its Quebec bastion, marks a further giant stride forward for Canadian labor.

The Quebec CLC Convention committed labor, in the course of successfully defeating the Trudeau government's wage controls and cutbacks, to mobilizing its strength in order to transform the political and economic institutions of Canada and create "a more equitable and just society." For the first time on the North American continent a major body of the organized labor movement set as its strategic aim the creation of a "social democracy."

The OFL manifesto not only reaffirms this as labor's objective but is even more concrete. "If we are ready for a general strike," the document states, "then we are ready for socialism. A general strike is a political act. So is building the party". It sets as labor's strategic aim a "socialist province in a socialist Canada." The instrument is the party that the OFL has endorsed as its political arm since its inception.

But the manifesto thrusts the union movement forward from its past sideline encouragement and financing of the NDP into much greater involvement, urging that leading unionists run for office on the municipal, provincial and federal arena so that labor will take political power on every level of government.

The CLC manifesto's musings on tripartism, and illusions about labor, management and government collaboration voiced by some leaders, blinded many militants from seeing the significance of the adoption of the manifesto for the

Cliff Pilkey, new OFL head, pledged to campaign for manifesto.

elevation and popularization of class politics and socialism into every level of the working class movement.

NDP leader Broadbent's opposition to the CLC manifesto, with arguments that its tripartism would undermine what he calls the responsibilities and authority of parliamentary institutions, only firms up the ludicrous posturings of the big business press and its spokesmen that capitalism and not labor is the pillar of democracy. A recent U of T seminar heard Peter Riggin, of the US-controlled Noranda Mines interests, who daily makes unilateral decisions determining the fate of thousands, hypocritically state that "the business community, even if it were invited to play a major role, is very likely to eschew any scheme which usurps the legitimate functions and responsibilities of a government democratically elected to represent all individuals and interest groups."

Trudeau himself, following his Quebec defeat, revealed who really rules Canada — not parliament but the corporate board rooms — when he hurriedly closeted himself with a select circle of top US and Canadian businessmen. He will address the public via TV in the near future, and parliament in the offing. And the Tory premier of Newfoundland has just announced his unilateral decision to turn the fate of the Labrador linerboard mill, that his government rescued from bankruptcy from international stock manipulator John C. Doyle and Canadian Javelin, over to a six-member board. The mill employs 1,400 workers and has been funded with over 200 million dollars from the taxpayers pockets. The board includes neither labor nor elected parliamentary representatives, but is composed exclusively of top businessmen, including William Bennett who heads the US-owned Iron Ore Company of Canada with its vast feudal domains in Labrador and Quebec.

The OFL manifesto calls for the establishment of an economic and social planning board with equal representation from labor, business and government. However, unlike the CLC manifesto's concept of a tripartite sharing of power, the OFL proposes that the board have only a consultative character, with labor free to criticize policies it disagrees with.

The tripartist concepts of the CLC manifesto, alhough there is no possibility at all of the capitalist class taking them up, caused many militants to oppose the manifesto in principle. With the modification in the OFL manifesto the militants have the opportunity to review and correct this error and take advantage of the perspectives opened up by these manifestos in this period of radicalization of labor's ranks.

Mass Que. protest sweeps out Liberals

By John Morgan

The widespread nationalist sentiment of the Quebec working class made itself felt as a political earthquake with the landslide election of the independentist Parti Québécois on November 15. Sixty-three PQ members were elected to public office for the first time, including no fewer than 29 teachers and a scattering of unionists. The ruling Liberal Party lost 71 seats, including Premier Robert Bourassa, who suffered a humiliating defeat in his own riding at the hands of labor journalist and ex-editor of the monthly **Quebec-Presse**, Gerald Godin.

Worried by the growth of PQ and third-party popularity, the Liberals called an early election with the cry of curbing the unions and a pledge to end strikes in the civil service. However, they were forced to negotiate a settlement with striking teachers, and as they failed to gain ground

→p.2

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Québécois had previ- election, quite astutely issue of separation of direct election issue by hold a referendum on within two years of r. It thereby broadened to wide layers of who responded to their turn to normal relations on movement, and to rovincial civil servants' ses (even should the Inflation Board order a he PQ also promised surance, free drugs for 65 years of age and free or those under 18. Of importance was the ks against giant l asbestos corpor- s threat to nationalize / did not undertake g industries in lieu of raw materials.

l Language Bill was the election. Under n the francophone king") majority to ding position of their

page 3

lying issues of the election, although polls taken during the campaign showed that the unemployment rate (in excess of 10%, seasonally adjusted), the lack of housing and social services, and Liberal Party patron-

In this issue

Municipal elections . . . p 3
Cross country with NDP . . .p 6
The left and October 14 . . .p 4

p.2

they unleashed a strident anti-separatist campaign in an effort to cow the Québécois back into line. Trudeau's Liberals then marshalled heavy artillery into battle: two ex-cabinet members who had recently resigned their posts in Ottawa arrogantly moved into the provincial Liberal campaign, pressuring Bourassa to back down on the controversial language issue, Bill 22.

Bill 22, and the issue of separation of Quebec, were the underlying issues of the election, although polls taken during the campaign showed that the unemployment rate (in excess of 10%, seasonally adjusted), the lack of housing and social services, and Liberal Party patronage scandals and proven ties with the underworld were the issues that led to its defeat.

The Parti Québécois had previously to the election, quite astutely removed the issue of separation of Quebec as a direct election issue by promising to hold a referendum on the question within two years of taking power. It thereby broadened its appeal to wide layers of Québécois who responded to their promise to return to normal relations with the union movement, and to honour the provincial civil servants' wage increases (even should the Federal Anti-Inflation Board order a rollback). The PQ also promised public auto insurance, free drugs for persons over 65 years of age and free dental care for those under 18. Of considerable importance was the PQ's attacks against giant US-controlled asbestos corporations, and its threat to nationalize them if they did not undertake manufacturing industries in lieu of shipping out raw materials.

The Official Language Bill was also key to the election. Under pressure from the francophone ("French-speaking") majority to protect the eroding position of their

Continued on page 3

PQ election and labor party

Continued from page 1

language, the Liberals created Bill 22 in an effort to legislate French as the official language while maintaining the "acquired rights" of native anglophones. That they succeeded is attested to by the opposition to the bill emanating from anglophones in Quebec, from Ottawa and from conservative forces in English Canada. Indignant opposition came from Montreal's Italian and Greek minorities, many of them immigrants, whose children were obliged under the Bill to pass English-proficiency tests if enrolling in English language schools. Bourassa's attempts to allay immigrant opposition and placate Ottawa lost him the support of many francophones who saw further attempts to water down the already tepid Bill as humiliating concessions to national minorities.

"Rocket" Richard, former hockey star, sports button in solidarity with use of French in Quebec air-space.

The failure of the federal government's policy of bilingualism was recently highlighted by the strike of English-speaking air controllers and pilots against the extension of French in air communications. The creation of l'Association des Gens de l'air received overwhelming sympathy from the Québécois. They became an election issue, a reason to vote for the independentist party that could challenge Ottawa.

This same party had been pronounced "dead" by the Trudeau government at the time of the 1973 provincial elections (with 10% less of the popular vote, it had elected only six members). But Trudeau was preparing himself behind the scenes for such a future shock as the election of the PQ, and when the skies fell in he reacted with uncharacteristic calm, claiming that Levesque's mandate was not to lead Quebec out of Confederation. But with a referendum coming up in two long years, and the last solid base of the federal Liberal Party in jeopardy, Ottawa is moving to swallow hard as it faces demands from Quebec for a very special status. Trudeau knows he must make concessions and pour federal money into the province in order to convince the Québécois of what ex-Premier Bourassa had promised many times, "profitable federalism".

The federal parties in Ottawa and the press generally greeted René Levesque's victory as devoid of any mandate to separate (despite the fact that Bourassa had made it the central issue). NDP leader Ed Broadbent stated that the PQ vote was for the many urgent reforms needed in Quebec, for "honest government" not necessarily for independence, which, in the tradition of the NDP leadership's allegiance to federalism in principle, he cannot conceive of. It is the duty of the NDP — as democrats — to recognize the right of Quebec to self-determination, meaning that the Québécois shall decide on their own accord what their relationship shall be with English Canada. Socialists have no stake in federalism. In the present contest of a massive vote for an independentist party, they should give their support to the direction the Québécois are taking. The campaign for an affirmative vote in the referendum will see a clarification of the Québec left's concept of an independent Québec, involving a mobilization of nationalist sentiment against English-Canadian and largely US ownership of the province's economy.

The revolutionary socialist movement in Quebec is largely isolated from the mass movement, and studiously ignores the challenge and opportunities presented by the open formation that is the Parti Québécois. Although firmly in the hands of a petty-bourgeois leadership trained in the schools of Liberal and Union Nationale governments, the PQ is not yet a bourgeois party "like the others", but contains important contradictions within it. Its leadership rejects the concept that the PQ should become a labor party, and the unions have been held at arm's length. But it has a massive working-class membership and its secondary leadership is representative of union militants and left nationalist youth. The reaction of the NDP in English Canada has been to identify with the PQ since it took power. Its supporters see it as the party closest to labor — and so do important elements of the Canadian and US capitalist class. The **Financial Post** and the Toronto **Globe and Mail** see the PQ as "socialist", a threat at least as dangerous as the NDP governments of western Canada.

Forward commented on the present debate in the Québec left on the need for an alternative to the PQ, a mass labor party in Quebec: "...with popular support for the independentist PQ increasing... the practical realization of the creation of a labor party... has been all but shunted aside for the period ahead."

The article concluded that socialists in Quebec should "move in and around" the PQ in order to link up with the live forces in the left, in the arena where the nucleus of the future Quebec labor party would emerge. This perspective was denounced by some in the left — unfortunately, as such stubborn confusion guarantees the continued antiseptic isolation of the Marxist left from the mainstream of Quebec politics.

Their fundamentalist concept of the PQ as simply "bourgeois" is not only simplistic — it is false. To view the party as bourgeois (like a Tory ward-heeler's association) is to excuse oneself from the difficult

→p.3

The Left in Que elections

The candidates of five left groups fared badly in the Quebec election as francophone workers identified heavily with the pro-labor image of the Parti Québécois. A picture of the debacle was presented in the east-end Montreal riding of Maisonneuve where four left candidatures received a total of 127 votes, half that of either the PNP or Creditiste candidates.

Most significant were the 21 candidates of the Coalition NPD-RMS, an electoral coalition of the Quebec Nouveau Parti Démocratic and the Regroupment des Militants Syndicaux, in which Trotskyists of the Groupe Socialiste des Travailleurs du Québec (GSTQ) participated. Their program was based on union demands but included calls for extensive nationalization of corporations in the natural resources and finance. It was however weak on the national question, merely defending the right of self-determination of the Québécois at a time when they are exercising that right, and on the question of a French Quebec, not even mentioning Bill 22. The Coalition was attacked in a sectarian manner by the Toronto **Labor Challenge** and by the Montreal Groupe Marxiste Révolutionnaire (GMR) as being reformist and electoralist. The NPD-RMS was unable to gather more than a miniscule vote, with its leading figure Beaudoin receiving only 259 votes in Taillon.

The GMR, which felt constrained to assure the readers of it's journal **Combat Socialist** that it really had no illusions in the working class taking power through the ballot, ran three candidates on an ultraleft program and got fewer votes than it has members. A Maoist grouping calling itself the Parti des Travailleurs du Québec presented a dozen candidates as did the Parti Communiste du Québec, both of them faring little better. The Ligue Socialiste-Ouvriere candidate received 90 votes in a campaign based on the slogan For an Independent and Socialist Québec.

task of intervening within the party at the same time as offering it no support. The bourgeoisie in Quebec has not yet embraced the PQ; they seek to seduce the party, but at the moment it's in the midst of a love affair with the left. As the rivalry grows, the party will undergo a process of radicalization and split, and become a school of politics for the working class not unlike that of the NDP in power. If socialists hostilely demark themselves from the rank-and-file of the PQ they will miss an historic opportunity to influence the forces which will emerge in the direction of creating a mass Quebec labor party.

National Student Day was modest success

By Paul Kellogg

Across English Canada November 9, 125 universities and colleges participated in a "National Student Day" (NSD), the first of its kind since 1967, and probably the biggest undertaking ever by student organizations in Canada.

Called by the National Union of Students (NUS) as a day of education on issues facing post-secondary students, organization of the day's activities was left to the participating student councils, councils representing some 300,000 students.

In workshops and seminars, according to University of Toronto council president Shirley French, NSD focused on "access to education, because without access to a university or college education, the issue of quality of education is meaningless. Students have been hit with cutbacks in the funding of post-secondary education, tuition fee increases, regressive changes in student aid, and high unemployment, all within a general attack on the post-secondary education system."

This general orientation of the day's activities very clearly highlighted the problems, although lacking a clear program to offer students as a means of tackling them.

Participation in NSD was light, estimated by NUS secretary Dan O'Connor as between 25,000 and 40,000.

Despite the low-level of participation, the day was a success, including as it did every major post-secondary institution in English Canada, under the leadership of NUS.

But the relative lack of response from students to an activity that receive immense publicity in campus media, that was prepared and built for like no other by NUS and every other provincial student organization, reveals a profound lull in student activism right across English Canada.

Clearly, the central task facing student leaders in the developing student movement is educational in nature, building awareness on the campuses of the problems facing post-secondary education and how they are related to the growing crisis in capitalist society generally.

The Ontario Tories' announcement November 25 of a $100 increase in university tuition, makes this task even more urgent.

forward #23 Nov 1976

Editor: Wayne Roberts

FORWARD is published in the interests of working people by the Forward Publishing Association. Signed articles express the opinions of the writers and are not necessarily the opinions of the publishers. Mail should be addressed to Forward, Box 778, Adelaide St. P.O. Toronto.

Will Que. gov't grant freedom to Morgenthaler

By Ellie Kirzner

In most ball games, it's three strikes and out.

There are different rules, however, in the continuing campaign of the justice ministry in Quebec City to make a conviction, any conviction, stick against Dr. Henry Morgentaler on charges of performing an illegal abortion.

Three times juries have thrown the government's case out of court. Yet incredibly, December 13, trial number four in the Morgentaler saga gets underway.

The latest twist in the case is Justice Minister Basford's interesting concept that justice is not within his jurisdiction. When asked whether he would intervene in the continuing persecution of Morgentaler, he cavalierly maintained that such action would be "improper".

Even the **Globe and Mail** found this hard to swallow. "Since when is the quality of justice in this country not the concern of the federal Minister of Justice?" it editorialized.

"How can he (Basford) sit back and watch these attempts to bludgeon a jury into submission? If a jury finally succumbs, what kind of vindication does he expect it to be for his Grits' abortion legislation? What kind of respect does he expect it to engender for the administration of justice? What kind of tribute to justice does he think it will be to at last send Henry Morgentaler to jail?"

The public has remained incredulous. According to Gallup, almost two-thirds of Canadians believe that abortion should be a matter decided by a woman and her doctor. No one except the fringe fanatics of the "right to life" have sunk to the defense of the Quebec government's persecution. Two hundred members of their umbrella organization, the "Coalition for Life", staged a day of lobbying on Parliament Hill November 18.

Their reactionary efforts to tighten up our already unjust laws governing abortion were countered by a demonstration by members of the Canadian Association for the Repeal of the Abortion Laws (CARAL), with placards reading: "Pro-choice is pro-child" and "Abortion: a decision for the woman and her doctor."

The new Parti-Québécois government in Quebec City, a government pledged to social reform and whose party's convention called for the end to Morgentaler's persecution, adds a new variable to the campaign. With the support of the PQ, the government gang-up on Morgentaler could be ended once and for all.

The demand for immediate amnesty must redouble in vigor at the doorstep of the new justice minister.

Demonstration before House of Commons for removal of abortion from Criminal Code

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Forward #23 Nov 1976

Gov't giveaway to Reed paper sparks Native and province-wide protest

By Randy Notte

The now exposed agreement by the Ontario Government to turn nearly 19,000 square miles of the last virgin forests in Northwestern Ontario to the Reed Paper Company has thrown the Native people of the north into a life and death struggle to stop the deforestation which will pollute their rivers and destroy the forests and animals of their homeland.

The Tories' plan to hand out massive natural resources of the north augurs disaster for the lives and livelihood of occupants of Native communities. "This fight is being waged by a nation of people who have inhabited northern Ontario for thousands of years. It is we who face destruction," said Treaty 9 Chief Rickard.

Robert Billingsley, head of Reed Paper, has responded to the criticism by claiming that "when you're pioneering, especially in the area of social responsibility, you're bound to get some confusion."

This attitude is particularly ironic since it is the Reed pulp and paper mill on the English-Wabigoon River system which has caused the mercury pollution, resulting in the tragic Minimata disease afflicting so many Northern Natives.

Originally, the deal was initiated in the form of a secret memorandum between the Davis government and Reed Paper. This is clearly just one example of standard government procedure aimed at keeping the affairs of government and business out of the public eye.

Only with the Reed deal they were unsuccessful, when NDP leader Stephen Lewis caused government officials to pale by making the memo public.

Lewis was also quick to make public the potential environmental effects of the project as well as the government's shameful record in this area. He explained that the government's own management forester, J.R. Cary, has said that the provincial government was achieving less than half its reforestation objectives. Cary has also stated that the practices of Reed were not part of any forest management system known to him. Another report, this time commissioned by the Ministry of Natural Resources itself, was extremely critical of granting licenses for large forest areas. This is precisely the nature of the Reed deal.

Since 1962, an amendment to the Crown Timber Act has placed unprofitable reforestation in government hands. In light of the government record, Chief Rickard has commented that to trust the Ontario government on the Reed issue would be "like asking Colonel Sanders to babysit our chickens."

Treaty 9 Chief Rickard

Supporters of the building of the new Reed mill argue that the project would create a badly needed 1,200 jobs in the north. But these jobs would do nothing to solve the basic problems of those whose present livelihood — hunting, fishing and wild rice farming — would be totally destroyed. What is needed are not projects which guarantee jobs for a few years but rather long term management of resources to promote future growth as well as employment. The Reed deal is an indication that the government is more interested in boosting Reed's profit picture than in solving the grave and basic problems of the northern population.

Nor can we rely on multi-nationals like Reed Paper Company to propose and implement the kinds of industrial development which could ensure that production reflects the supply of resources and truly increase the job possibilities in the north.

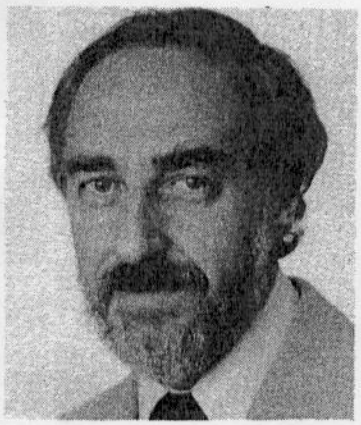
forward #23 Sept 1976

Some key contests in Toronto :

Taxes, cuts challenged

By Abe Levi

The bleak landscape of the Toronto municipal election campaign is broken in certain key wards by the efforts of a few NDP and labor movement leaders who are challenging the hegemony of Liberal and Tory representatives in the municipal councils. A few campaigns are of special interest: notably ward 6 where prominent labor activist and reform caucus member Dan Heap confronts a



Harry Paine

massive campaign conducted by the Tory machine, and ward 4 where the NDP riding association is fielding Joe Pantalone as the aldermanic candidate. Ward 4 candidate Lee Zaslovsky has also been supported by prominent NDPers. In the education field, ward 4 candidate Ralph Cook has launched a hard-hitting campaign which has earned him the support of several NDP and labor bodies.

Board of Education campaigns have offered special openings for two socialists, identifying themselves with a perspective of a more vigorous NDP municipal effort. Spearheaded by NDP teachers, the campaign of Harry Paine has received endorsations from his own riding association, the Riverdale NDP riding executive, the Toronto Labor Council, the Daycare Reform Alliance, NDP MP John Gilbert and NDP MPP Jim Renwick. Paine is currently an executive member of the St. David NDP Riding Association and executive member of the Canadian Association for the Repeal of Abortion Laws.

Paine's campaign presents a number of proposals challenging the current illiteracy scare campaign for a return to the core curriculum. "The hue and cry raised about the failure of students to acquire basic educational skills is designed to cover up the deteriorating effects of the cutbacks", his literature explains. "The special needs of many students must be met with smaller classes and more teacher specialists where required, to give greater individual attention. Maximum and average class sizes must be guaranteed to ensure the best learning environment for all students". His literature also states that curriculum does not require the pat solution of simply returning to basics, but of addressing the individual needs of the students and making school a humane place to learn where "School programs must emphasize inner-city concerns and programs should be adapted to the real life experiences of students. Texts should be based on the Canadian realities of life. Proper emphasis should be given to the lives and efforts of working people, women, native peoples, Quebecois, and trade unions."

Rather than promising to implement his program as the isolated representative of his constituents, Paine believes that parents, teachers and students must exert their decision making power on the local school level to ensure their local autonomy.

Religion and education have produced an explosive mixture in ward 4, North York, where Harry Kopyto, **Forward** writer and well known civil rights lawyer, is running in association with the aldermanic candidate endorsed by the Wilson Heights NDP riding association, Hugh Montgomery. Kopyto is emphasizing his opposition to the public funding and endorsation of religious education in the public school system.

Although Kopyto presented the need for the NDP to run candidates in the municipal elections, his riding association remained neutral. An independent candidate, Mary Rothman, a prominent member of the riding, is also running for the same position. Alongside this division in the riding lie disagreements over the necessity of party politics in the municipal arena and the rejection of the incorporation of Jewish religious schools into the public school system.

While supporting the inclusion of classes dealing with particular national languages and cultures in a non-sectarian manner, Kopyto points out that, "Government money should not be used to create a ghetto for people of one faith. Students from different backgrounds, religions and cultures should be given the opportunity to meet each other and learn the truth about each other in a truly public educational system."

The funding of education is taken up in the Kopyto campaign in the slogan "Tax Big Business — Not Tenants and Homeowners". He notes that while the corporations derive the benefit of having their employees trained in the educational system, they have been paying a

Harry Kopyto

decreasing proportion of the tax burden. "The cutbacks, resulting in overcrowded classrooms, a crackdown on teachers' wages and a general attack on the quality of education, haven't saved you a cent in taxes", insists Kopyto who calls for "eliminating the property tax" and working with the "NDP provincial caucus to achieve this goal".

forward #23 Nov 1976

NDPers tackle issue:

Why regionalism?

By Wayne Roberts

One of the greatest indictments of capitalism is its persistent inability to solve the question of regional disparity. Despite the importance of western wheat for Canadian exports, despite the tremendous geographic and economic potential of the Maritimes, and despite the highpriced grants from government agencies like DREE which have made a great fanfare about equalizing regional development, the living standards of these regions have remained far below that of Ontario for decades. Even in Ontario, there are areas which suffer relative underdevelopment, especially in the resource-rich North.

The NDP has never developed a coherent alternative to regional underdevelopment. Two recent statements from prominent NDPers, while they represent a preliminary attempt to come to grips with the problem, reveal the challenge still before us in developing a rounded economic plan which would eliminate underdevelopment and allow areas to develop their inherent richness.

Saskatchewan's NDP premier Blakeney, in a speech to the Atlantic Provinces Economic Council, urged an alliance of the Atlantic and western regions against central Canada. Political power, he charged, is concentrated in central Canada. "Neither the Atlantic regions nor the West can expect the federal government — *whatever its political stripe* (my emphasis) — to take the initiative in introducing the basic structural reforms that are needed to encourage more balanced regional development." He did make a vague reference to the power of capital, apart from the political preferences of central Canada, charging that "the old boy network", as well as discriminatory freight rates, were opposed to industrial development in the west and east. But his only proposal was the call for strong provincial governments whose efforts might even be financed by the federal government.

Less vacuous and more tied to a class understanding were the comments of Eli Martel, resource critic of the Ontario NDP, in an interview with the U of T **Varsity**. He laid the blame for the underdevelopment of northern processing industries on the "free enterprise" policies of the Tories which allow an industry to decide as it sees fit for its own profitability. He argued that the government must have the right to participate in the decision of where firms will locate. "It's the taxpayers that have to pay for land expropriation, sewers and water. No industry pays enough tax to cover these costs so that gives the taxpayers the right to negotiate where industry should locate."

Martel also proposed a crown corporation to take over all mineral exploration and a program of taxation that would force resource corporations to pay taxes in the form of shares in their industry, allowing for government equity in the firm. However, he did not favor government involvement in secondary industry.

Regional underdevelopment is an inevitable result of capitalism and its inability to plan in the interests of the majority. But it is more than that — it actually serves the interests of capital, by providing a reserve army of cheap labor where labor intensive industries can operate, where inefficient industries can blackmail grants out of the government, and where heavy industries can threaten to pull out if workers don't reduce their "ridiculous" wage demands. It also serves the dominant sections of Canadian capital and US multinationals, who have a joint strategy of plundering the resources of an area rather than developing a rounded economy.

To deal with regionalism requires nothing less than removing the power of US and Canadian giants to determine the fate of vast areas of the country. Banks must be nationalized and structured to represent the interests of various areas of the country so that investment can be planned. The CPR must be nationalized so that discriminatory freight rates are eliminated and the basis is laid for an integrated transportation network. A national economic plan must be developed, not one that uses the west as a pipeline for gas to the US, and the Maritimes as a reservoir for cheap labor vulnerable to hucksters like Bricklin. This plan must also break the rate structures established by giant corporations, such as the one that allows Quebec iron ore to sell for less in the US or Ontario than in Quebec, a rate structure that discriminates against Quebec's ability to deepen manufacturing.

Even these preliminary steps require a different orientation than that proposed by Blakeney. Such plans could not be organized "regardless of the political stripe" of the government in power. Nor would they see central Canadian voters as the enemy. Workers in Ontario have no interest in the super-exploitation of the west or east.

The NDP will be increasingly forced to take up the question of regionalism in its campaign against unemployment and in response to rising regional protest. To do so, it will have to place measures of socialist planning in the forefront.

"Taiwan bids thity cents an hour... Do I hear twenty-five from Hong Kong?"

Forum discusses USSR and womans movement

By Richard Hunt

The Forward Forum has moved into a program of theoretical classes dealing with issues of interest to socialists. The first series, marking the 59th anniversary of the Russian Revolution, was given by Harry Kopyto.

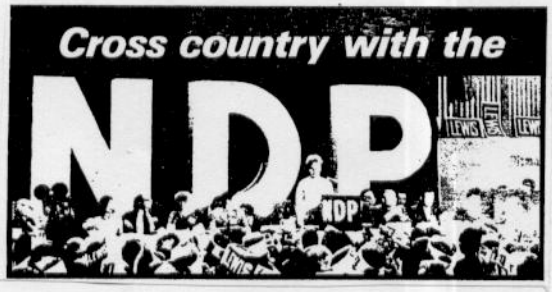
The first class dealt with how the Russian Revolution could take place in a backward country like Russia. Despite the absence of a fully matured capitalist economy, the unevenness of Russia's development meant that it had one of the most concentrated and combative working classes in the world. Moreover, the working class was led by exemplary revolutionaries, the Bolsheviks, who developed a position of consistent struggle against capitalism and imperialism, and who integrated the struggles of all the oppressed Russian masses into the program of one revolutionary party.

The second class dealt with the crucial question of what happened in the aftermath of the Russian Revolution. What were the factors that could lead such bright hopes for the Russian people into the dismal recesses of Stalinism? Was this degeneration inherent in Bolshevism or the product of peculiar circumstances?

In this class, Kopyto outlined some of the problems inherent in an isolated revolution in a relatively backward country like the Soviet Union and the effects it was to have when coupled with the tremendous losses inflicted by the imperialist powers of the west on the Soviet working people.

In the absence of a continued revolutionary upsurge in Western Europe, the isolation and demoralization that took place in Russia led to the development of a bureaucracy which barnacled itself to the gains of the revolution. The representative of this bureaucracy was Stalin. In the name of proletarian democracy and Marxist-Leninism, Trotsky challenged the course of Stalin only to be forcibly deported in 1928-9.

The Forward Forum is currently in the midst of a class series surveying the theory and history of the women's movement. For further information, or to be included on the mailing list for weekly forums, call 595-1284.



forward
#23 Nov 1976

What course for women's caucus?

The precise tasks before NDP women's committees has always been a matter of some confusion. Of course, the days are gone when NDP women's committees meant women's auxiliaries which provided baked goodies and presided over rummages. At least it is now generally accepted that women's committees deal with the problems of women's oppression in capitalist society at large and as reflected within the NDP.

Betty McClurg, an activist in the Participation of Women Committee, standing committee of the Federal Council of the NDP, put forward one perspective of activity in the September issue of **Priorities**, the lively publication of the BC NDP women's committee. McClurg puts electoral participation of women at the top of the list of priorities — that is, getting women elected to office.

Attacking the militant BC women's caucus as having "degenerated into a rhetorical debating society" with no power in the party, she urges that women's talents be "used to organize nominations and elections rather than rhetorical hot air". That, she argues, is the road to power, both in the NDP and in society at large.

This proposal runs against the grain of many active NDP feminists. **Priorities** and the BC Women's Committee have long been the model for those who see women's role in the party as political, in the sense that far surpasses elections. The BC Committee pressed for the passage and implementation of a program and perspective that committed the NDP government to integrate the demands of women's liberation and socialism.

That remains the essential challenge before women in the NDP. Women's issues, especially abortion are always the first to be dropped by opportunist NDP candidates, even women candidates. A watchdog function for women's committees remains an important priority in face of the continuing opportunism and capitulation to chauvinism characteristic of the NDP brass. This was the experience in BC where the Women's Committee had to mobilize convention support against the Barrett government's refusal to implement NDP program.

As that struggle deepens, it will inevitably throw up not just women candidates, but spokespeople for the women's movement. It will engage them in all the arenas of the NDP, including the electoral arena, and including the leadership of the party.

The elementary perspective of fighting for women's rights demands nothing less. To focus entirely on women's candidates, without fighting for a program of women's liberation, threatens a women's caucus with a "degeneration" far more disastrous than temporary political isolation. The perspective of McClurg threatens these committees with abandonment of the very issues which are bringing women into political struggle.

org. file (found in 1976)

SCHOOL TRUSTEE • WARD FOUR

VOTE FOR HARRY KOPYTO

The Labor Alternative

Tax Big Business -- Not T

Tax Big Business!

Using property taxes to pay a large portion of the cost of education places an unfair burden on homeowners and tenants, who have to pay high rents. By shifting the cost of education to the provinces, large corporations will begin to pay a fair share of such costs. Since large corporations benefit from the educational system by hiring thousands of graduates each year, it is only logical that they pay a larger part of the cost of training future workers. if elected, Harry Kopyto will be a strong voice on the Board of Education for eliminating the property tax and he will work with the NDP provincial caucus to achieve this goal. He also supports re-examining presently tax-exempt properties to see if they are worthy of this status.

Stop Cutbacks in Education!

The cutbacks, resulting in overcrowded classrooms, a crackdown on teachers' wages and a general attack on the quality of education, haven't saved you a cent in taxes. It is the big corporations which are paying proportionally less in taxes now than before the cutbacks in funding were implemented by the Tory government. Harry Kopyto supports quality education, smaller classrooms and competitive salaries for teachers so that the best people will continue to be attracted to the teaching profession.

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of the New De

Tenants and Homeowners

No Tax Dollars for Religious Education!

While parents must have the right to send their children to any school of their choosing, proposals from North York Board of Education members to subsidize religious education from public funds will only increase taxes and duplicate facilities. Government money should not be used to create a ghetto for people of one faith. Students from different backgrounds, religions and cultures should be given the opportunity to meet each other and learn the truth about each other in a truly public educational system. Face to face contact is the best way to break down prejudicial stereotypes, and fight racism and antiSemitism.

However, the Public School system should make accessible to minority groups classes dealing with their language and culture. This will help to relieve double tax burden of parents who now send their children to private schools.

Schools should Serve Working People!

Without limiting subject options presently available, the school curriculum should give added emphasis to core subjects (such as reading, writing, and mathematics). This would allow students the freedom of choice to continue towards higher education so that working class children are not forced into vocational and technical schools. Every student should be thoroughly grounded in both technical and academic subjects. Harry Kopyto supports allocating more funds to schools serving workingclass and immigrant children. He supports changes in school textbooks so that students will learn about the contribution of working people to the building of Canada and the struggle for social justice. Harry Kopyto believes high schools should be controlled by parent-teacher-student councils with real power to decide policy questions.

Teachers Caucus

emocratic Party

Who is Harry Kopyto?

Harry Kopyto lives in your ward at 137 Viewmount Avenue (781-0600). He is 29 years old, married and has a 2-year old child, Mark. His wife, Sabina, works in the Toronto Public Library system and is on the executive and negotiating committees of CUPE Local 1996.

Harry graduated from the University of Toronto Law School in 1970, quickly establishing himself as a civil rights, labor and criminal lawyer. He initiated the Law Union, a labor-oriented association of lawyers and legal workers. He has represented tenants organizations, working people and minority groups fighting discrimination and exploitation.

His interest in education is not recent. He has led three delegations to various boards of education and authored submissions on educational topics.

Harry Kopyto is an active member of the Wilson Heights New Democratic Party and has received the endorsation in this campaign of the Teachers Caucus of the NDP. He is also a member of the Canadian Civil Liberties Association and the Criminal Lawyers Association. He contributes regularly to the labor paper FORWARD and has had his writings reprinted in trade union and student papers across the country.

Harry's parents are working people and his political commitment is to the working people of this ward. He has thus received the endorsation of community figures such as Joe Meslin (vice-president, Hatmakers Union), Fortunato Rao (staff member,Steelworkers Union), Chris Beard, Former President, Metro CUPE Council and President, North York Public Library CUPE Local 771.

[*Organizations for identification purposes only*]

Hugh Montgomery ?

He deserves your support and your vote on December 6.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION:

CAMPAIGN MANAGER: Lena Meslin (President, Glen Park PTA): 783-7771.
Italian Language Co-ordinator: FRANK LENTO: 741-6962.
Yiddish Language Co-ordinator: ISAAC REZNICK: 633-1979.

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PROTEST PSYCHIATRIC ABUSE IN THE USSR

Speakers:

Jan Dukszta

Norm Penner

Natalka Chomiak

york university curtis lecture hall J

Dec. 7, 4:00 p.m.

In participation with the Three International Days of Protest in defence of Soviet Political Prisoners, there is a rally protesting the use of psychiatric methods to silence individuals who demand elementary human and political rights.

V.Bukovsky

Confined in psychiatric hospitals for possession of literature. Spent one year collecting information on political abuses of psychiatric methods in the U.S.S.R.which was made available to foreign correspondents. Subsequently, received a 12 year sentence for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda."

M. Plakhotnyuk

Apediatrician. Intervened personally in the case of V. Moroz. Has written Samizdat literature . Arrested. Sent to the Serbsky Institute for psychiatric examination.... diagnosis: "Schizophrenia with a Persecution mania, Periodically non-responsive." Now at the notorious Dnipropetrovsk Mental Hospital for an indefinite term. Undergoing various "treatments."

S. Gluzman

A Psychiatist. One of the first to challlenge the diagnosis of insanity for political prisoners, specifically in the case of Gen. Grigorenko. Sent to a concentration camp, where together with V. Bukovsky prepared a handbook for victimms of psychiatric repression" A Manual on Psychiatry for Dissidents" which was smuggled out of the camp.

The release of these three dissenters can only be achieved if pressure is brought upon the Soviet government by a universal condemnation. The first step in achieving this goal is by expressing YOUR protest . Come out in solidarity at the meeting of December 7, 1976.

For further information, contact Committee in Defence of Soviet Political Prisoners
P.O. Box 130
Station M,
Toronto , Canada.

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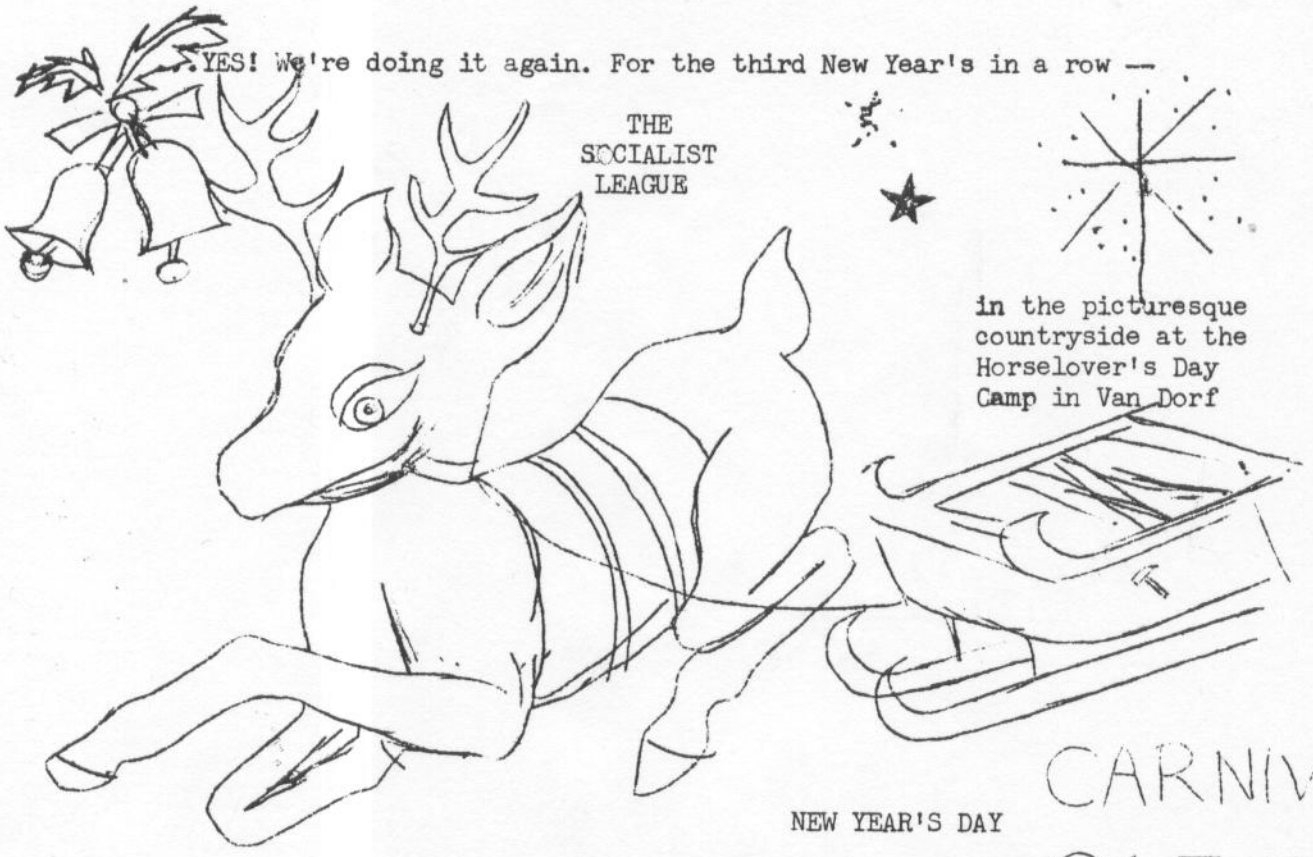

in the picturesque countryside at the Horselover's Day Camp in Van Dorf

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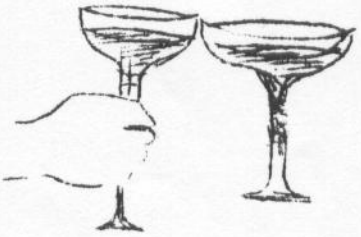

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(Editing by Ross Dowson) (Found in A76) A76

MAINTAIN QUALITY + CUT TAXES

How to get the ~~most for our education dollar is the~~ quality education that is necessary for our young people from the taxes that we pay is everyone's concern

~~concern of everyone?~~

Wage controls imposed by the Liberals in Ottawa and cutbacks in social sorvices (enforced) by the Tories at Queens Park have effected everyones standard of living in somo form.

The citizens of Ward 8, either as Homeowners or tenants can no longer afford to pay, through property taxes, the present cost of education and the necessary future increases.

Restraints and cutbacks have ~~been~~ not saved working poople one rod cent, and (in fact tended to) have thrust the cost of necessary social services onto the individual.

Corporate profits have been booming. The corporations continue to roll up their profits The ove rall sharo of education costs paid by corporations and business have dr dropped, while the tax share paid by individuals through individual taxes has risen dramatically.

~~A progressive provincial income and corporation tax to replace the education component of property tax is essential and would be more equitable.~~

The Provincial Govt which already controls much of the expenditures must take over the full cost of education and so drastically reduce our tax bills.

The Provincial Government can make up the loss in revenue by imposing